

Politics and Administration for Total Human Development

SWAMI RANGANATHANANDA

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FOREWORD

This is a collection of about twenty speeches and addresses, including two important lectures in the IIPA, New Delhi, and IIPA branch, Bombay, and some selected writings by Swami Ranganathananda who has been widely acclaimed as a profound thinker, an erudite scholar, and a gifted speaker. These lectures, addresses and writings are spread over a long period having been made on different occasions, to different audiences, and in different contexts. The value of the collection, however, is that all these are focussed on one central theme—how to raise the standard of human quality and especially of the people in public service, the term used here in its broad meaning. With a view to reinforce this theme, Swamiji invokes the best of all religions and brings out that man is really capable of being both responsible and responsive provided he, occasionally, if not constantly, reflects about himself and on his role, in his professional capacity, in the overall societal context. He puts forth before us in a striking manner the social significance of our individual tasks and the ethics that ought to pervade our collective existence.

Swamiji is inspired both by the Vedantic texts as also by their master exponent, Swami Vivekananda. And, like his mentor, Swamiji's well acclaimed capacity is to bring religion close to man in the full light of reason and to advise him to make the utmost use of it in his day-to-day life. The guidelines that he proposes for this are simple. And, according to him, the invoking of true religion and spirituality in any situation will give strength and hope to anyone in the discharge of his responsibilities. This volume, for instance, is strikingly illustrative of this assertion and the contents here cover a wide area of situations in society. His call for 'imaginative sympathy' becomes the hallmark of social sensitivity.

He not only takes account of the role of religion in politics, law, society, and for the citizen, and of the philosophy of service, but he also deals with the need for the proper training of our administrators, befitting a welfare state, and refers to the role of the policeman in a democratic society, to the philosophy of democratic administration as well as the ethics of a modern corporation and to the problems of the working classes too. On each such occasion and on many more in this volume, he holds

up the vision of human excellence and enjoins all of us to strive to realise that vision in us. To Swamiji the potential for human excellence has no frontier.

Swamiji accepts science and technology as great forces in the modern world but he persuasively argues that religion is not contra indicative, in so far as religion is deeply concerned in helping man in enhancing his dignity and ennobling his aspirations, whether as an individual, in a group, or in society. Science and religion both symbolise the quest for truth in human life. Democracy itself, he says, strives to understand, assimilate and express human values. And in this effort a spiritual dimension is to be added, so that a new and powerful influence is brought to bear on the democratic content, giving man in society a higher sense of direction and upholding for him a loftier sense and purpose. As Swamiji puts it:

The philosophy of democratic state and administration derives its strength and relevance from the inalienable dignity and worth of the human personality and the active concern to uphold and foster the same. Its operative principle is that man is essentially educatable and not vile, and that social change is, and can be, brought about in an orderly and peaceful way—by ‘breaking of wits’ and not by ‘breaking of heads’.

Swamiji raises and answers the question as to how then it comes that the Indian society, which has had a long tradition of following religious precepts and practising spiritual austerities should be faced with a steep decline in standard in public conduct and behaviour. He refers to the ‘bad odour’ of religion in modern society and also admits the prevailing cynicism about religion, especially among the young. This he considers unfortunate and attributes it largely to the fact that sometimes religion becomes identified with untested beliefs and dogmas, superstitions, and narrow creeds. Quoting Sankara’s comment on the Gita in this context he says that the yoga of old was lost when “it fell into the hands of physical and mental weaklings and of those without discipline in their sense organs”. Swamiji’s continuing concern all along, however, is that it should be true religion and spirituality, which widen human sympathy and

compassion, that should permeate all sections and thus enable them all to unfold the unlimited vistas of good society, capable of meeting the dynamics of change.

At the same time Swamiji draws attention to the conundrum of modern society having in its hands enormous scientific and technical power but unable to control this Frankenstein. Science and technology have transformed the world, he concedes, but they prove more and more helpless to ensure human welfare; for this, there should be a transformation of human nature itself, which, according to Swamiji, religion seeks to bring about through a discipline of the whole human personality. He says: "With this spiritual awareness for foundation, the structure of civilisation, raised by science and democracy, becomes strong and steady; without it, it sways in periodic crises to topple down eventually."

The yoga that Ranganathananda speaks of here is not to be conjured up with, as he himself puts it, "visions of magic and psychic tricks of lean people gazing down at their navels, or austere people looking straight at the tips of their noses". On the other hand, the yoga that he means is a road, though arduous, for all round excellence, so that those treading on that road may achieve the fulness of personality in the context of their work for social welfare and happiness. He frequently draws our attention to the Gita dictum that efficiency in action constitutes yoga.

Social welfare calls for a new sense of administrative urgency, a new sense of personal dignity, and a new spirit of joy in work. These are social values, no doubt, but they are spiritual values too. But it happens that in our society this sense and awareness still remains to percolate through all the different strata of people, especially the administrators, professionals and publicmen. In other words, we have still to recapture the vital spirituality of our ancient culture which had morality for its base and a lofty vision for its crest. A larger social awareness, says Swamiji, will contribute towards efficiency and humanise our outlook and actions.

To the administrator he sums up the task in the following elevating words:

Behind every process and method of administration, we have

to visualize the faces of the millions of the common men and women of India, hungry for a better life; behind every file of the secretariat is that humanity whose recognition alone makes for a faster movement of the files. This idea of a suffering humanity behind the file is an abstract concept; most people cannot be moved by abstract ideas; most people cannot be moved by such an abstract idea of humanity, most people are moved only by the sight of a concrete situation, by the sight of a suffering man in front; but education and culture are designed to endow man with this capacity for abstract sympathy, and imaginative sympathy, for man not present in front, but imaginatively visualized as existing in society and calling forth the energies of his head and heart and hands.

Swamiji is not unduly perturbed by the occasional manifestations of restlessness in the country. He, like Vivekananda, is glad that by such manifestations, the country shows that it has shaken off its age old inertia and stagnation. To quote Swamiji:

If Swami Vivekananda were to come today to present-day India, he would be happy to witness the enormous energies manifested by his people. He would say to our people: 'Yes, you are no more under *tamas*; you have woken up from your centuries long sleep. You have learnt even to commit crimes, you can burn buses and trains and even kill each other. You have captured the energy of *rajas*; you have thus taken the first step in man-making and nation-building; but only the first step.

But, as Swamiji says in the next breath, the real task is hereafter:

You are now to take the second step, namely, giving a constructive and creative direction to your energies by channelling them into socially useful goals and purposes. That is man-making education and man-making religion in one.

In these lectures and writings that we have presented in this volume, there is an inevitable overlapping of thoughts and ideas

by the very contour of the collection. But this goes to emphasise the core of values that is essential for the reconstruction of our society. The lucidity of his exposition leaves its wholesome impact on our minds and hearts.

Swamiji's message is one and the same for all, though, to put across effectively this message, he adopts different modes, methods and styles—persuasion, admonition, advice, recommendation and criticism, depending on the occasion. At times, to drive home his point, he is frank and forthright even to the extent of being blunt. But when an unpleasant fact needs to be put across, the most pleasant way of doing it is perhaps by being blunt. As Valmiki says: 'प्रियमित्प्रियं कृतं' (for your own welfare, what you do not like has been done) or as the biblical text goes: 'Whom he loveth he chasteneth'.

We are happy to present this volume to the public. We are profoundly grateful to Swami Ranganathananda for allowing us to bring out this compilation. We hope and trust that this volume will not only act as a countervailing force to the pessimism that often seems to overwhelm us in the different spheres of our work and duty but will enthuse and enrich the readers by its elevating message and promote enlightened citizenship and social responsibility in all walks of life. In a way, he reinterprets for us the age old values in the modern context and provides an anchorage, both intellectual and spiritual, in our day-to-day striving for the good, the true and the beautiful.

We have acknowledged the sources of these lectures as footnotes at appropriate places. We recall them here to record our gratitude to them.

IIPA
NEW DELHI
May 21, 1980

T. N. Chaturvedi
(T.N. CHATURVEDI)
Director



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THE PHILOSOPHY OF SERVICE

1. *Introductory*

I AM very thankful to the organizers of this function for inviting me to address this special meeting of the staff of the Lucknow Secretariat. I have just finished a very stimulating lecture tour in the Raipur and Rewa divisions of your neighbouring state of Madhya Pradesh and in the town of Jhansi of your own state; everywhere I could feel the pulse of our people yearning for a better life, and for stimulating ideas helpful to the achievement of the same.

2. *The Problem of Inter-human Relationships*

Here I have been asked to speak to you on a very important topic, namely, 'The Philosophy of Service'. When I look around me in the India of today, the one theme that strikes me as of the greatest benefit to our nation is this subject of service. Our society bears the impress of all forms of exploitations, and that too for centuries, which man has practised on man—intellectuals exploiting the common people, the rich exploiting the poor, rulers exploiting their subjects, and man exploiting woman, and, often, women also exploiting each other. Every form of exploitation we have indulged in here; that alone explains the low level of life, individual and collective, that we have had for the past few centuries. As a result we have had to pay a heavy price; centuries of political subjection and all forms of social humiliation have been heaped upon the people of India, rich and poor alike.

This should have opened our eyes. But, today, after twenty years of political independence, we notice that we have not learnt the lessons of history. All the maladies that afflict our people today, all the troubles of our body-politic, proceed

from one single source; and it is that man in India has devalued himself. He has not realized his own dignity and worth as man; he has not recognized the dignity and worth of man in his fellowmen. This is the subject that should become the sheet-anchor of our education and public life today, so that we may achieve nation-building on the only foundation on which it can be raised, namely, what Vivekananda called 'man-making'. The building up of a great modern nation out of the diverse elements of our society, with millennia of history behind it, is not an easy task. It calls for a new type of manhood and womanhood with deep convictions within and a tremendous will power to translate visions and ideas into real forms outside. Swami Vivekananda, more than seventy years ago, referred to this need when he expounded his thesis of a man-making education and a man-making religion. He said that religions of the world had become lifeless mockeries and that what we needed was character. These religions, as lived and practised by millions, hide behind their exterior piety a good deal of selfishness, social callousness, and violence. This has distorted our history, retarded our national growth, and thwarted our national purposes. Religion in India had long become reduced to a form of *piety-fringed worldliness*. The above words of Vivekananda have become of topical significance for our nation today when, after twenty years of independence, we have begun to despair of our nation's future, when we have begun to be unsure about the stability of our infant democratic state which we instituted with such enthusiasm and fanfare in 1947 and 1950.

3. *Renunciation and Service*

Therefore, the one subject that should hold our attention today is the subject of man and the subject of inter-human relationships. What is the form of inter-human relationship that is conducive to general happiness and welfare? Man has exploited his fellow human beings throughout history. We are generally familiar only with one type of exploitation, namely, the economic, which has been highlighted by Marx and his school of thought. But exploitation can be and has been of other types as well. Whatever surplus resources a man possesses, he can easily use them to *exploit* other people. The other alternative is to utilise one's surplus energy, intelligence, wealth,

and power to *serve* other people, to enhance the life of other people. Why has our nation chosen the first instead of the second alternative since our independence? Swami Vivekananda had proclaimed about seventy year ago :

Renunciation and service are the twin ideals of India. Intensify her in those channels, the rest will take care of itself.

Renunciation of the little self with a view to manifesting the higher self and the spirit of service are the twin ideals of India. In the wake of our great national renaissance of the last century, the country did inspire itself with this spirit of renunciation and service and threw up bands and bands of dedicated workers in all parts of India for the cause of India's freedom and India's nation building. As a result of their contributions the country became free and ended its centuries-long stagnation and slavery in 1947. Why we failed to continue in that great mood and temper thereafter is a mystery. It is amazing how our people, emerging from the darkness of their slavery of centuries to the light of freedom, could easily forget the lessons and warnings of their history and cease to be creative ! History is replete with instances of nations bursting with creative energy on emerging from a spell of political slavery. The classical example of this is Athens. When it succeeded, by united and sustained struggle, in defeating its Persian invaders and freeing itself from their brief but deeply galling yoke, Athenian democracy experienced an ecstasy of freedom which issued forth during the next 50 years in an outburst of creative activity in every department of its national life—cultural, social, political, and artistic—which has brightened not only its own but all subsequent Western history as well. Why did we fail to experience a similar sustained ecstasy of delight on the attainment of freedom, not after a brief spell of slavery as in the case of Athens, but after centuries of bondage, and why did we allow our creative energies to dry up within a few brief years of independence? With the drying up of our creative spirit, we soon slipped back into our erstwhile stagnant ways, into moods of complacency and ways of selfishness and self-centredness. This is the tragedy of our brief post-independence

history. And we have paid the price in shocks of military defeats, economic disasters, political disintegrations, and social upheavals. Where every one sought only his or her own happiness, no one is happy today.

4. The Need for Creative Thinking

This phenomenon is imparting a salutary lesson to us, the ethical lesson of mutuality and inter-dependence. The current maladies of our nation are inducing a mood of thinking and self-criticism among our people; and this is the brightest side of our national life today. Creative thinking is the sure sign of the onset of social health. All growth, development, and progress flow from thinking. Our nation has started to think after twenty years of what in the language of Vivekananda may be called 'not-thinking-carelessness'; we have become aware of the mess in which we are, and we have begun seriously to consider how we can get out of it. This is the surest sign of the onset of a trend towards health, towards national creativity. We have to sustain this trend, intensify it, and say good-bye to all complacency and its evil fruits of selfishness and self-centredness.

This is what brings me to you this afternoon, to think together with you as to how to restore our nation to health and vigour. Biology tells us that man is an inter-thinking species, the only such species in creation. He advances evolution through this inter-thinking process. And this is the work that we shall engage ourselves in during the quiet hour that we are together here. And this is the work that all patriotic citizens should engage themselves in when they meet together in groups. It is in this context, against this background, that I wish to discuss this great subject of the philosophy of service. We have been using the word 'service' mostly in a professional sense. We have the Union services, the State services, and a host of other services; I am not here to deal with them except as part of the wider field of inter-human relationships in general and the philosophy underlying the same.

5. The Search for a Rational Ethics

Service, as I said earlier, is the finest form of inter-human

relationship. It involves a growth, a change for the better in the individual man. What is that change? What is that growth? Throughout these centuries, we have failed to discuss and comprehend this great subject, because for centuries together our forms of inter-human relationships were expressed in set forms and fixed moulds where growth of the human personality had no meaning. They were not rationally determined, but were determined by caste factors, by conventional religious dictations, and they yielded frozen patterns of conduct and behaviour, whose goodness was derived from the authority of a text or of a caste mandate. We failed to develop a rational ethical code deriving sanction from human nature itself and capable of sustaining human conduct and behaviour in turn. *What our nation needs today is a pervasive concern for man as man, and not as cut up into castes, sects, and communities, and the formulation of a sanction for the same from a rational ethics and spirituality.*

Every human being is faced with the challenge of the presence of other human beings in the society. He can react to the social *milieu* either in a friendly way or in a hostile way depending upon his concept and assessment of himself. He chooses the hostile way when his only concern is his own survival and his own organic satisfactions. When this is the predominant motive, his behaviour is not far removed from that of animals. No actual human being, however, is always motivated thus. Even the lowest of human beings does sometimes experience a genuine concern for one or more other human beings; in this he seems to outreach his own limited self. This betokens the emergence of moral awareness in man; *its culture, growth, and development represent the specifically human phase of evolution, according to twentieth century biology.*

6. *Evolution and Ethics*

Nineteenth century biology could find no place for ethical sense and moral behaviour in its theory of evolution. Ethics and evolution ran parallel to each other. As expressed by Thomas Huxley in his *Evolution and Ethics*, evolution meant struggle for existence and survival of the fittest, whereas ethics meant the making of as many as possible fit to survive. But the

revolutionary advances in this science in the twentieth century have made ethics central to evolution at the human stage.

Speaking on 'The Evolutionary Vision', Julian Huxley, a noted contemporary biologist and grandson of Thomas Huxley, gives a spiritual orientation to the evolutionary process (*Evolution after Darwin*, Vol. III, p. 215) :

Man's evolution is not biological but psycho-social; it operates by the mechanism of cultural tradition, which involves the cumulative self-reproduction and self-variation of mental activities and their products. Accordingly, major steps in the human phase of evolution are achieved by breakthroughs to new dominant patterns of mental organization of knowledge, ideas, and beliefs—ideological instead of physiological or biological organization.

Discussing, in the light of the revolutionary advances of twentieth century biology, the aim of human evolution, or evolution at the human stage, as 'greater fulfilment' Huxley says (*ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 20) :

In the light of our present knowledge, man's most comprehensive aim is seen not as mere survival, not as numerical increase, not as increased complexity of organization, or increased control over his environment, but as greater fulfilment—the fuller realization of more possibilities by human species collectively and more of its component members individually.

And pleading for a scientific study of the scope of this concept of fulfilment, Huxley concludes (*ibid.*, p. 21) :

Once greater fulfilment is recognized as man's ultimate or dominant aim, we shall need a science of human possibilities to help guide the long course of psycho-social evolution that lies ahead.

It is this science, the science of human possibilities, that constitutes the spiritual core of the world's religions; and it is the central theme of our Upaniṣads and the *Gītā*.

7. *Psycho-social Evolution*

What is meant by psycho-social evolution? In a self-centred man, as in all animals, the psyche or mind or soul is limited and confined to the physical organism. In a moral man it expands, goes beyond the barriers of his physical organism, and enters, and is entered into by, other psyches of the social *milieu*. Men develop a capacity to dig their affections into each other as a matter of conscious choice, thus revealing a higher dimension to the human personality than what is revealed by his physical personality with its organic appetites and choices. This registers the beginnings of the manifestation of the spiritual man lying behind the physical man, of his higher self behind his lower self. All ethical theories presuppose this distinction between a higher self and a lower self in man; and the liberation of his higher self is what man achieves through ethical endeavour. It is renunciation of the lower self and manifestation of the higher self.

Unless he erects himself above himself
how poor a thing is man!

sings Wordsworth. Accordingly, what we see in all moral and ethical phenomena is a growth of man in a non-physical dimension; this is his spiritual growth, a growth in his inner dimension in which, as pointed out by Julian Huxley in his lecture on 'The Evolutionary Vision', quality emerges as the criterion of evolution for the first time, in place of quantity which dominated the organic or pre-human phase of evolution (*Evolution after Darwin*, Vol. III, p. 257) :

I spoke of quality. This must be the dominant concept of our new belief-system—quality and richness as against quantity and uniformity.

Discussing the subject of utility against this new belief-system, Huxley says (*ibid.*, p. 259) :

Once we truly believe...that man's destiny is to make possible greater fulfilment for human beings and fuller achievement by human societies, utility in the customary sense becomes subordinate. Quantity of material production is, of course,

necessary as the basis for the satisfaction of elementary human needs—but only up to a certain degree. More than a certain number of calories or cocktail or TV sets or washing machines per person is not merely unnecessary, but bad. Quantity of material production is a means to a further end, not an end in itself.

And highlighting quality as the dynamics of human evolution, Huxley concludes (*ibid.*, pp. 260-61) :

Thus the evolutionary vision ... illumines our existence in a simple, but almost overwhelming way. ... It shows us our destiny and our duty. It shows us mind enthroned above matter, quantity subordinate to quality.

This is what Vedānta recognizes as the spiritual evolution of man, as his inward journey to fulfilment in the context of his outward life and movement and action.

8. The Spiritual Growth of Man

This subject of the spiritual growth of man is a fascinating theme relevant to the contemporary world situation, and more so to man in the Indian context today. It will point out to him the way to rescue himself from the tyranny of the sensate and the quantitative, and from the prevailing stagnation of worldliness, and help him to continue his evolutionary march to qualitative richness and fulfilment.

Physical growth we understand; intellectual growth also, though less obvious, we can understand; but what is this other growth, the moral and spiritual growth of man? It is something subtle, yet real, and more significant than the other two, so far as man is concerned. Moral awareness, with its capacity for love and service, is the direct fruit of this spiritual growth. This growth registers itself as an expansion of man's interests and sympathies so as to embrace increasing numbers of fellow human beings, and in the consequent extension of the frontiers of his own self. Without this growth, man's body becomes the prison of his self; with this growth, it becomes the first instrument of human evolution, of man's journey to fulfilment.

With the evolution of the higher brain in man, organic or physical evolution has ceased to have any further relevance so

far as man is concerned. With the inventive powers of his higher cerebral system, man can produce organs and tools far more efficient than what nature may evolve within his organism at her slow pace through her trials and errors and enormous waste. Evolution has become self-conscious in man with his whole host of new capacities like reason, imagination, memory, and will. If organic evolution is thus irrelevant at the level of man, and if evolution still continues in him, it has to be sought beyond the organic or physical level. This is the meaning of what Julian Huxley refers to as psycho-social evolution. It is conscious social participation that makes an individual grow even into a personality, a value which no animal can realize.

Biology speaks of the principle of homeostasis, or homeorhesis, by which nature effected an automatic stabilization of internal conditions in the organism of the higher mammals. This helped in the slow evolution of the brain until, in man, she perfected the higher brain. The organism's need for physical survival and organic satisfactions, and her own need for numerical increase—all these have been relegated by nature to the care of man's lower brain, thus releasing his higher brain to function as the most wonderful instrument for carrying evolution to its specifically human fields, namely, the psycho-social, moral, and spiritual.

The capacity and fitness of higher brain to undertake and fulfil this high function is directly proportional to its freedom from slavery to man's sensory apparatus and its appetites, to the pressures and pulls of his lower nature. The higher brain, with its powers of reason and imagination, may stultify itself by functioning as the tail-end of the sensory apparatus. It may, on the other hand, redeem itself and also man by becoming true to itself, by becoming truly higher. It is ethical discipline, what Vedānta calls *śama* and *dama*—discipline of the mind and the senses—that helps the higher brain to thus redeem itself and become the agent also of man's redemption. This is a reason in its true form, what Vedānta calls *buddhi*. Referring to the evolutionary significance of this development of the higher brain, in his book *The Living Brain*, neurologist Grey Walter exclaims (p. 18):

For mammals all, homeostasis meant survival; but for man, emancipation.

This, the spiritual growth of man, is thus a fact; the more we know the science and technique of this growth, the better for us and for our nation. Physical and intellectual growth we know and recognize, the second less palpably than the first. A baby is born with about seven pounds of body weight. Every day it increases in weight. It drinks its mother's milk, to be followed by other types of food and drink; and it grows steadily until it becomes a full-grown healthy man or woman of 150 or 200 pounds weight. This is the palpable physical growth of man; and we ensure it by appropriate means of physical nourishment. Equally important, though less obvious, is his mental growth. A village boy is timid and without confidence. He is sent to school. Within a few weeks, he gains in knowledge, in alertness, in self-confidence. He develops a sense of his individuality; and this continues until he becomes, may be, an intellectual giant, or a giant of will; this is the mental growth of man, which we ensure through appropriate mental nourishment, through education, institutional and non-institutional. These two types of growth are necessary, but not sufficient. There is a third growth, most vital and significant, but least recognised, without which the other two will prove his undoing; without which his search for fulfilment will result in unfulfilment and defeat. This is his spiritual growth, which finds expression in ethical awareness and social feeling to begin with, and finds its consummation in the experience by him of the infinite, universal, and divine dimension of his personality, the Ātman.

9. *Intellectual Giants versus Moral Pigmies*

An education that does not stress this spiritual growth may produce physical and intellectual giants who may as well be moral pigmies; this is what India calls the *rākṣasa* type of men, physically strong, intelligent, and of strong will, but all this held in thralldom to his finite, lower self, to his sensate nature; it is not oriented to his larger self through moral sense and social feeling. In fact, this is the defect also of our contemporary Western civilization. According to some modern thinkers, modern civilization creates intellectual giants and moral pigmies. So what is the difference? The difference is precisely here. The body has grown, the mind has grown, and yet the real man has remained a puny, tiny thing; it has failed to grow for want of

the spiritual nourishment relevant to its growth. So the spiritual stature of man, his spiritual nourishment and growth is not a mere academic subject; it is a vital subject for man individually and collectively. Civilization cannot survive without this spiritual growth of man from out of himself. In India, our great philosophy of Vedānta emphasizes the spiritual quality of human life. It proclaims that man is essentially divine. He is not the body; he is not the mind; he is the Ātman, infinite and universal. The body and the mind are only the instruments of his spiritual growth, the means of his life purposes, which include sense pleasures and aesthetic delights, intellectual developments and ethical awareness, and the fullest realization by him of the freedom of his inborn divine nature.

10. *The Nature of Ethical Awareness*

This spiritual growth of man finds its first expression in ethical awareness, in social feeling, in a genuine concern for the other individual. The society of human beings constitutes the *milieu* of his spiritual education, of his spiritual growth and development. Man lives in two environments, the natural and the social, but most people recognise only the first and not the second, or, rather, treat the second as but an appendage of the first. But the second is something distinctive. Nature around us, with its starry heavens, with its rivers, mountains, trees, houses, tables and chairs, constitutes the first environment in which we conduct our lives; man exploits this environment for his purposes; and it is meant to be so exploited, for it has no purposes of its own. A table is meant to be used by man; so also the house, so also the earth and the air, the rivers and the mountains. But the second environment in which human life is cast, without which human life will become elementary in its proportions, is the social environment, constituted of other human beings. This is an essential environment for the growth of the human spirit. Take a man away from society, he will become like Ramu, the wolf-boy of your city; he will not grow into a human personality for want of conscious participation in the social environment. Therefore, the importance of the social *milieu* is recognized in all ethical philosophies, in all political and social thought. What does it involve to have a social *milieu*? I live in an environment constituted not only of natural objects

and processes but also of other human beings. What are these other human beings? *It is this question and man's answer to it that constitutes the challenging problem of inter-human relationships.* Man's adequate response to this challenge raises his life from the organic or the physical, to the ethical and the spiritual levels.

Every human being treats himself as a subject, as an end-value, and treats everything else as an object, as a means to that end-value. That is human experience in the raw ethically unprocessed state. The table and other things are objects; and I am the subject. The objects are meant to serve the purposes of the subject; and I am that subject. This idea that objects serve no purposes of their own, but are meant to serve the purposes of a subject is recognized in the dictum of the Sāṅkhya philosophy quoted by Śaṅkara in his commentary on the *Brahmasūtras*: *saṃhatānām parārthatvāt puruṣasya*—'All *saṃhatās*, i. e. objects which are but combinations of elements, do not serve their own purposes, but are meant to serve the purposes of a subject, namely, man.'

11. Recognizing a Subject in a Social Object

Now when I apply this idea to myself, I recognize that I am that subject, and everything else belongs to the category of the object meant to serve my purposes. But *when man extends the application of this dictum from the natural to the social environment, he commits a serious ethical blunder; he becomes the exploiter of his fellow human beings.* He considers his wife to be an object, he treats his children as objects, so also his servants and all other human beings. Therefore, *this tendency to exploit other human beings proceeds from the failure to recognize the distinctiveness of the social environment from the natural environment.* Wherein does this distinctiveness lie? It lies in the unique fact that other human beings constituting the social environment are not just objects, are not just extensions of his natural environment, but are subjects like oneself; *ethics therefore asks man to detach himself from his physical self and to view the social environment as it is in itself.* This detachment helps him to liberate his higher self and view his social environment objectively. He then discovers that that social environment consists not of objects but of subjects like himself. This is the

discovery that led man to culture and civilization, to ethics and spiritual realization, that led him on the specifically human road of evolution. Therefore *ethical attitude can be defined as the recognition of a subject in a social object*. There are two types of objects, natural objects and social objects. Social objects consist of human beings, and when I recognize the subject in a social object I express my ethical sense, and I begin to treat that social object not as means to my ends, but as an end in itself. With the development of ethical sense, man also learns to treat all non-human living things more and more as ends in themselves. *This at once involves a revolutionary change in inter-human relationships*. Whereas, as an object, man exploited man just as he exploited his houses and furniture, rivers and mountains, as a subject, with ends of its own, man serves his fellow man and helps him to realize his own ends. Each man becomes, at the same time, the means and the end with respect to the social environment, revealing the truth of mutuality and interdependence underlying that environment. *This is the truth that humanity has failed to realize adequately from the very beginning of history*. Barring a small minority of ethically sensitive people, most human beings have treated and still treat other human beings more as mere objects to be exploited than as subjects to be served to realize their own ends.

12. Service: Its Mood and Temper

Therefore, ethics comes to us with a great message, the message of interdependence, the message of mutual service. It proclaims that if one wants to achieve his own welfare, he must strive to ensure the welfare of other human beings also. As exhorted by the *Gītā* (III. 11): *Parasparam bhāvayantaḥ śreyah param avāpsyatha*—‘Cherishing and serving each other, may you achieve the highest general welfare’.

The German philosopher Kant defines ethical attitude in a beautiful sentence. Says he in his *Metaphysics of Morals* (London, 1909, p. 47):

So act as to treat humanity, whether in thine own person or in that of another, in every case as an end, never only as a means.

Each one is an end in himself; each one is also a means with respect to his fellowmen. In the light of this attitude, a study of inter-human relationships reveals the utterly unethical and low nature of all forms of exploitation of man by man. When man exploited woman in feudal societies, he treated her not as a person with ends of her own, not as a subject, but as an object meant to subserve his own ends. The same treatment was meted out by him to servants, labourers, and other sections of society. But today, in the context of our democracy, we are required to reverse this wrong attitude and practice and treat every human being as an end in itself. In this way inter-human relationships become transformed, revealing the growth of man in a new dimension, namely, his spiritual dimension. And *the fruit, the bye-product, of this growth is the temper and mood of service*. The spirituality of this mood and temper expresses itself as a sense of privilege with respect to work. It is my privilege to serve the ends of others through my work, proclaims this mood. The husband or the wife, parents or children, every member of a society, by being engaged in enhancing the happiness and welfare of others, enhances not only his or her own happiness and welfare, but ensures his or her own spiritual growth as well.

This also reveals a third environment in which man lives, namely, his inner environment, the world of his inner life, besides the other two, namely, the external natural and social environments. It is by taking due note of this third environment that man ensures his spiritual growth in the context of his external life and action. *Nourishment of his inner life is achieved through the spirit of dedication and service with which he inspires his outer life and action*, which then becomes transformed into *Yoga*, which achieves the double efficiency of social welfare, through productive labour outside, and spiritual welfare, through the inward spiritual attitude of dedication and service. This double efficiency—productive social efficiency outside and spiritual personality efficiency within—is the message of *Yoga*, according to the *Gītā* (II.50): *yogaḥ karmasu kauśalam*—‘yoga is efficiency in action’, and not any cheap mysticism or magic. Service, therefore, is the only valid form of inter-human relationship in any society which aims, in the words of Julian Huxley quoted earlier, at ‘the fuller realization of more possibilities by human species

collectively and more of its component members individually.'

13. *Worldliness versus Spirituality*

Whatever civilization and culture humanity has achieved so far, has been the result of the release of these spiritual forces in the hearts of men and women. Man is essentially spiritual, but this spirituality is lying hidden; it is lying unmanifest, and we have to manifest it in the context of our life and action, and develop a moral will. Any education which only quickens our intellect and sharpens our animal appetites, but does not help to develop a moral will, is harmful to man and society. Many civilizations have perished for this very reason. Our own history reveals to us many periods when man had decayed morally. Just before Buddha, conditions in the Indian society reveal a picture where the upper classes were steeped in luxury and self-aggrandisement and sterile philosophical speculations, and the lower classes were steeped in ignorance, superstition, and misery. It was then that India threw up a great teacher like Buddha. He saw that society had become stagnant, getting stuck up in the mire of wordliness; and he preached his message of spirituality, of renunciation and service, and it set the society on the road to progress and prosperity. His first discourse at Sārnāth after his enlightenment at Buddha Gaya bears a significant title, namely, *Dharmacakrapravartana Sūtra*—'The Discourse setting in motion the Wheel of *Dharma*.'

The wheel of *Dharma*, the wheel of society, the wheel of culture had got stuck up in the mire of wordliness, just like the wheels of a bullock cart getting stuck up in one of our muddy village roads. Then the cartman and others put their shoulders to the wheels and the cart starts moving. Similarly, Buddha came, put his shoulders to the wheel of society and made it move; the spirituality emanating from him and from his movement imparted dynamism to the society which had become stagnant due to wordliness and superstition, and for the next thousand years, the dynamic energy of spirituality contained in Buddha's message made India march to prosperity and greatness, made her expand even outside India, and laid the whole of Asia in deep spiritual debt to our great country. This has happened several times in our history. And this alone accounts for the impressive continuity of our long history. Roman civilization

developed this stagnation of worldiness in its later phases; luxury and love of ease sapped the vitality of its otherwise gifted citizens, until a time came when Roman citizens were not prepared to work, to produce wealth, and to face any hardships, even in the defence of their glorious empire. They depended on mercenaries from neighbouring countries for the defence of their empire, and on the work of slaves and other people for agricultural and industrial production. And the result was that, when foreign invasions came, there was not the national will to defend the empire, and the whole civilization fell, never to rise again.

14. *Character Centred in a Socially-Oriented Will*

These are all episodes from past human history from which we should take lessons and warnings. We are trying to build up a new state, a new society on our sacred soil deriving its strength not from a minority of the elite, but from the millions and millions of our people. If our Constitution has anything inspiring about it, it is this that, for the first time in our long history, we are building the political structure of our nation on the willing consent, and on the strength thereof, of the millions and millions of our people of all classes, races, and sects, and not of a minority at the top. The language of our Constitution is that we, the people of India, give ourselves this Constitution. The Constitution is but the repository of our national vision and urge and the promise of great things to come. But we have to work hard to make promises flow into performances, to make vision flow into action and achievement. How can we do it unless we learn to work honestly, to work efficiently, and to cooperate with each other? And all such ideas of working together, cooperating with each other involve team spirit, which is the first fruit of the psycho-social evolution referred to by Julian Huxley; it betokens the beginnings of human spirituality, of the manifestation of man's higher self. *This is character centred in a socially-oriented will.* With character comes mutual trust, cooperation, team spirit, and all-round efficiency. With character as his strength, a man is able to go beyond himself and dig his affections in the hearts of others and elicit a response from those hearts. With character-efficiency, therefore, a new man comes upon the scene. Character is the only basis of all enduring inter-human relationships. Take away character, the

whole social structure tumbles down piecemeal. Vivekananda warned us more than seventy years ago against the tendency in India to mere imitation of Western institutions, Western ways of work, Western modes of life, without acquiring the character-efficiency which is the source of the strength behind those institutions. Addressing the citizens of Lahore in 1897 on the subject of 'The Vedānta', he said (*The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, Vol. III, Ninth Edition, pp. 429-31) :

You may make thousands of societies, twenty thousand political assemblages, fifty thousand institutions. These will be of no use until there is that sympathy, that love, that heart that thinks for all; until Buddha's heart comes once more into India, until the words of Lord Kṛṣṇa are brought to their practical use, there is no hope for us. You may go on imitating the Europeans and their societies and their assemblages . . . Where is the heart here to build upon? No sooner do we start a little joint-stock company than we try to cheat each other, and the whole thing comes down with a crash. You talk of imitating the English and building up as big a nation as they are. But where are the foundations? Ours are only sand, and the building comes down with a crash in no time.

Therefore, young men of Lahore, raise once more that mighty banner of Advaita (vision of non-separateness), for on no other ground can you have that wonderful love until you see that the same Lord is present everywhere. Unfurl that banner of Love! Arise, awake, and stop not till the goal is reached. Arise, arise once more, for nothing can be done without renunciation. If you want to help others, your little self must go. In the words of the Christians—you cannot serve God and Mammon at the same time. Have Vairāgya, renunciation. Your ancestors gave up the world for doing great things. At the present time there are men who give up the world to help their own salvation. Throw away everything, even your own salvation, and go and help others. Ay, you are always talking bold words, but here is practical Vedānta before you. Give up this little life of yours. What matters it if you die of starvation—you

and I and thousands like us—so long as this nation lives? The nation is sinking; the curse of unnumbered millions is on our heads—those to whom we have been giving ditch-water to drink when they have been dying of thirst and while the perennial river of water was flowing past; the unnumbered millions whom we have allowed to starve in sight of plenty; the unnumbered millions to whom we have talked of Advaita and whom we have hated with all our strength; the unnumbered millions for whom we have invented the doctrine of *lokācāra* (social usage), to whom we have talked theoretically that we are all the same and all are one with the same Lord, without even an ounce of practice. . . . *Wipe off this blot.* Arise and awake. What matters it if this little life goes? Everyone has to die, the saint or the sinner, the rich or the poor. The body never remains for anyone. Arise and awake and be perfectly sincere. *Our insincerity in India is awful.* What we want is character, that steadiness and character that makes a man cling on to a thing like grim death.

15. *Imitation versus Assimilation*

We have to capture that; we have to assimilate the very 'root' of Western greatness, instead of merely imitating the 'Western people and running after the 'fruits' of their greatness. Only then can we develop our institutions patterned on theirs and bend them to our national purposes. They built their institutions on the basis of character, on the basis of ethical sense and social awareness, and the character-efficiency flowing from them. This we have to develop first. Then only can cooperative societies, welfare organizations, and private and public sector projects, and all other collective undertakings thrive and flourish. Whatever constructive work we have done in India during the last sixty or seventy years, is entirely due to a section of the Indian people becoming inspired by this modern spirit of progress, by their acquiring this modern spirit of social awareness and its concomitant fruit of character-efficiency. Today our nation needs to develop this character-efficiency in a big way through acquiring this capacity to go beyond one's little self and manifest one's higher self. This is the only way to raise the moral tone of our people, to raise the spiritual

strength of our nation. And this is the primary source of strength for man, says Vedānta, because it is intrinsic to him and capable of taming and elevating all extrinsic sources of his strength, namely, wealth, pedigree, and power. *Ātmanā vindate vīryam*—‘through (knowledge of) the Ātman, man achieves great energy’, says the *Kena Upaniṣad* (II.4). When life moves in this direction, service and dedication become increasingly spontaneous, outward, man-ward movements of that silent God-ward movement of the innerman.

16. India : A Mighty Anthropological Laboratory

Since our independence, our free state has instituted several services. We have over thirteen or fourteen central services and several ones at the states level. These are all specialized services meant for particular purposes. They have their relevance. But when we speak of service in the context of our society, we do not mean any one of these services. We mean the attitude to the work that one is called upon to do, the attitude to one's fellow citizens, the attitude to oneself as a seeker of spiritual growth—the attitude which is blessed by spiritual awareness, ethical sense, and social feeling. *It is here that man reaches out to something beyond his limited truncated self*; it is here that evolution ceases to be merely organic and biological and rises to higher spiritual levels.

The whole of India today must be considered by each one of us as an anthropological laboratory, as a mighty sociological apparatus, for experimenting on the subject of man, his growth, development, and fulfilment. Our immortal spiritual tradition, Vedānta, aided by modern thought and modern techniques, provides us with the necessary guidance and stimulus in this great venture. We have to courageously face the task of nation building through building up the manhood and womanhood of our five hundred and fifty million people. *This is the most exciting work for any intelligent heroic people.* We have to ask ourselves as to what type of society we want to evolve in India, what type of human excellence we shall aim for our people. Our people have suffered enough; they have been neglected, except for being exploited; the whole nation bears the impress of arrested growth through continual thwarting of

human purposes, first by invaders from without, and then by invaders and exploiters bred from within. The harshness of our hearts has been the bane of our nation for centuries. The weak and the backward had no place in our society; they were always pushed to the wall. This national sin, *this blot on our national honour*, in the words of Vivekananda quoted earlier, we have to wipe off today. That is the glorious opportunity and privilege for every educated citizen of free India. And *contemporary world conditions are extremely favourable and propitious for a successful assault, for the first time in our long history, on this ere long impregnable fortress of selfishness and exploitation, ignorance and superstition, slavery and its concomitant of jealousy, all buttressed by a smug and static piety-fringed worldliness*. This amalgam of dark forces has undone our history and retarded our national growth for over a thousand years. That history teaches us one bitter and salutary lesson, *that our nation, during this long period, ceased to be the creator of history, but remained at the backyard of history. Other nations created history; we became victims of that history*. Our follies and our prejudices, our pettiness and our meanness, our want of political vision and wisdom, our incapacity to combine for a national cause—all these have militated against India's developing a strong body politic for herself.

17. *Forging a Healthy Body for India's Eternal Soul*

The soul of India is eternal; it is bright and pure and strong; the whole world feels the enlivening touch of that external India. I have myself seen, during my travels in various parts of the world, that eternal India is universal currency. Sensitive people in all parts of the world respect it and respond to it. It has been so throughout history. But there has been the other India, constituting the body politic of that external soul, which has been an utterly inefficient conduit for the energy of that soul for hundreds of years. The world at large has been pitying us for the plight of our body politic while admiring us for the strength and purity of our nation's undying soul. That body politic has been getting weakened for want of suitable nourishment of body and mind. That weakness, and the period of stagnation that came in its wake, have left a legacy of

mounting problems for the citizens of free India to tackle and to solve. An adequate response to this tremendous national challenge will alone make the youth of India progressive and dynamic, and the hope of their nation's future. They must consider it their responsibility and privilege to tackle them. That will bring on the scene of India's national life a new type of men and women, with tremendous faith in themselves and in the people of India and in their past history and future destiny, with the will to work, and with the capacity to cooperate with each other, in place of the talking, shouting, selfish, cynical, and grumbling types that we have been turning out in thousands since our independence. This will mark the spiritual growth and expansion of India, matching its undoubted physical expansion, economic and demographic, *and make her once again the creator of history, both national and international.*

This is the expansive dynamic mind and mood that every educated citizen should capture today. For whatever we do now is going to shape the destiny of India, and much of the destiny of the world as well, for the next thousand years or more. This means that a tremendous responsibility is thrown on every one of us today. *With political independence gained after centuries of slavery and social immobilization, with a Constitution embodying the visions and urges of our nation for allround human fulfilment to inspire us, with every type of freedom granted and guaranteed by that Constitution to nourish creativity and to stimulate the thought and action of every one of our citizens without any distinction, with an impressive rational spiritual tradition from the past embodied in our Vedānta, reinforced by spiritual giants like Ramakrishna and Vivekananda in the present, with a land richly endowed by nature with actual or potential wealth, with beautiful and impressive landscapes, and with a people richly endowed with diverse talents and capacities, our country today offers a most stimulating milieu for conducting, as referred to earlier, the fruitful laboratory experiment on human growth and development for a seventh of the human race, and for working out that 'science of human possibilities' referred to by Julian Huxley and quoted in an earlier part of this lecture.*

18. Meeting of East and West in India

In this great field of work we have two vital streams of

blessings to help us, namely, our own immortal Vedāntic spiritual tradition and the modern Western tradition. From Vedānta we learn of the external truth of the divinity of man and the solidarity of all existence. From modern thought we gain the scientific and technological efficiency to make that Vedāntic vision practical. *For the fullest growth and development of man, there is need to effect a confluence of these two cultural streams in every citizen.* Man, his growth, development, and fulfilment, is the theme of all progressive thought today. It is the central theme of both ancient Vedānta and modern socio-political thought. Indian society has the opportunity to be fertilized by both the streams in the modern age. In fact, as pointed out by Vivekananda, *this precisely is the significance of the modern age in Indian history.* The assimilation of Vedānta and modern thought will make India great not only spiritually, but also intellectually, economically, and socially. And from her great historic past she will march forward to a future, greater and more creative than all her past ages.

Behind all such greatness lie two great forces, namely, *the force of creative intelligence and the force of character.* We did not lack intelligence as a people; but its cultivation was confined to a minority by short-sighted socio-religious policy. But in the absence of social awareness we failed to achieve character-efficiency. And for the lack of character-orientation, our intelligence tended to be static, and failed to achieve creativity. During the past few centuries we did produce men of vast learning, sometimes encyclopaedic in range, but mostly uncreative, static, and sterile, which deprived it of the power to move society through the force of character and conviction. *Modern India offers the supreme opportunity to every one of her citizens to move in the direction of the achievement of these two energy resources of personality, namely, the force of creative intelligence and the force of character.* Man-oriented intelligence, filling, and will is the source of character-efficiency in a man to whom the spirit of service comes as a natural by-product of his own psycho-social evolution, as a spontaneous expression of his own spiritual growth.

19. *Spirituality is Man's Birthright*

Vivekananda had warned us that man could not be made

moral by an act of parliament. But since our independence, we have been trying to improve man mostly through acts of our parliament and of our state legislatures. That has been our great misfortune. And we have naturally failed. We have to realize today that the only way to change man for the better is through education, which, as defined by Vivekananda, is 'the manifestation of the perfection already in man'. Such education is more than mere institutional schooling. *It is essentially what each man does to manifest his inborn spirituality and to evoke the same in others.* But our education today makes for mental stagnation and greater selfcentredness. More or less that is true of contemporary education in all parts of the world. Self-centredness has become the central vice of modern civilization, says Toynbee. Sorokin, the eminent sociologist of the Harvard University, also warns us that modern civilization can be saved only by manufacturing a little more of altruism in the human heart. Bertrand Russel speaks of the need to have a little more of love in the human heart, if civilization is to be rescued from its present mess.

How to manufacture this altruism, this love in the heart of man, how to develop this genuine human concern, is therefore, a subject of more than national significance today. Technology cannot help us here. We cannot make men good and kind and altruistic by developing a new serum and injecting it into them. Science can denature plutonium, but it cannot denature evil in the heart of man, says Einstein. Neither can it be achieved, as I have said before, by acts of parliament. Nor can socio-economic improvements brought about by political and administrative measures, by themselves, produce the good man or the happy man. They at best constitute the *conditions* for the production of the good man or the happy man. *It is only by taking due note of the third or the inner spiritual environment of his life and ensuring its nourishment, by directly tapping his inner energy resources, by penetrating to the infinite resources of the spiritual depths of his personality, that man develops his ethical sense and moral awareness.* Buddha was endowed with infinite compassion and the spirit of service; these were not the products of the food he ate, or of the socio-political circumstances of his external life. He just *grew* into an infinite personality; he just *manifested* the inborn perfection of his nature, which

is also the birthright of every human nature. External circumstances have relevance in the early stages of this manifestation in the case of ordinary people. But at some stage, man has to tackle himself, tackle the forces of life, and not remain a plaything of external circumstances. *The knowledge and discipline of the forces of this inner world constitute the scope of the science and technique of spirituality, according to Vedānta.* Man has to take from the hands of mother nature the responsibility for his own evolution, for which he has been provided with the necessary equipments by nature herself. The failure to do this is the tragedy of man under modern social security philosophies. As predicted by Schopenhauer about a hundred years ago (*The World As Will and Idea*, Vol. I, p. 404) :

All men who are secure from want and care, now that, at last, they have thrown off all other burdens, become a burden to themselves.

If there is one single teaching of Vedānta that needs always to be kept in view and that can redeem man from his inner emptiness, it is the teaching that man is essentially divine and perfect. Infinite energy is in the heart of every one. That is his birthright. He has not to beg it or borrow it from some one else. As our great political leader Lokamanya Tilak, gave us the great political *mantra*, '*Swarāj* is my birthright', which galvanized our political life, so also this Vedāntic *mantra*, '*spirituality is my birthright*', will galvanize the moral and spiritual life of every man and woman. Man's struggles in society for wealth and welfare, education and culture have also to become the venue for another silent struggle within him, namely, the struggle to manifest his inborn spirituality.

This is the most precious and urgent lesson India has to learn today. The utter worldliness into which many of our people have fallen in recent times following the policy of 'I and mine first, and the devil take the hindmost,' has only resulted in dwarfing the Indian personality and thwarting collective human purposes. This is what has made for the widespread indulgence by our people in all sorts of corruption and malpractices; we have invented many new forms of social malpractices which other nations even do not know. Today we indulge in

all sorts of indiscipline, revealing a mentality of long-experienced slavery; for only slaves resent discipline, but free men never. The external freedom that came to us in 1947 has yet to grow into inner freedom in most of us. These social maladies are the product of a view of man which reduces him to mere psycho-physical dimension, and in which the psycho-social man is mooted. In that view the spiritual man is nowhere in evidence. Ethical sense and social concern and the spirit and mood of self-discipline are the fruits of spirituality; and if we are to build our nation on enduring foundations, we have to build it on spirituality, and not merely on economic amelioration measures. This is what Vivekananda described as man-making with a view to nation-building. All politics, and economics, science and religion are meant to advance the cause of human growth and fulfilment. Unfortunately, since our independence, we neglected man in ourselves and in others, and concentrated on the external circumstances of his life. *We had thus devalued man long before we were forced by economic and other circumstances to devalue our rupee.* That is why we are in such a mess today.

20. Our Post-Independence Generation

A new India is coming up in the children of the present generation. They are unlike the children of the earlier generations; they are more intelligent, more vivacious, more alert, more fearless, and more straight-forward; these are sterling character assets. But they are deficient in social sense, in social responsibility, and in the concern for other individuals and groups; they exhibit more than the healthy level of intolerance and aggressiveness. The result is that they have become a problem to themselves and to the nation. The old, with their largely feudal mental make-up, can hardly become fit examplars for our younger generation. From the lure of a dead past they have to be summoned to face the hardships of the living present and shoulder the responsible and creative roles of ushering in the delights of a glorious future. Their energies, now functioning like indisciplined elemental forces such as we experience in floods and earthquakes, need to be made creative by self-discipline through a nationally-oriented will. Our scientific

technology is engaged in disciplining these elemental forces of nature to enhance human happiness and welfare. We need a similar spiritual technology to discipline the energies of our youths to enhance their own and the nation's welfare. *This is the ethical education of our children by which they are made to feel the weight of social responsibility for the rebuilding of their national body-politic, by which they learn to give a creative and constructive direction to their enormous energies now expressing largely in destructive and self-cancelling ways, and by which they not only cease to be the despair, but become the shining hope, of the nation.*

Vivekananda summoned our nation, long steeped in *tamas*, inertia, which it foolishly mistook for *sattva*, dynamic calmness, to the dynamism of *rajas*, energy, before rising to the equilibrium of *sattva*. The nation has attained this *rajas* in its young generation today. Vivekananda today whispers to every youth in India to move onward and raise his or her energies to the higher level of *sattva* through self-discipline and ethical sense. Energy at the *rajas* level is energy of the *rākṣasa* type, self-centred and self-cancelling. It is also often at the mercy of the lower *tāmasic* nature, when it becomes blind and purposeless and destructive. Much of youthful life-energy today suffers from this affliction of purposelessness and aimlessness. If continued too long, it will spell disaster to the individual and his society. The only way to make it creative is to make it grow to the next higher stage; it then comes under the discipline and control of the *sattva* level of human nature, *which then finds expression in a socially-oriented will with its mood and temper of renunciation and service.* This is the spiritual education of our youths which they must capture for themselves and by themselves, in the spirit of the heroic exhortation of Kṛṣṇa in the *Gītā* (VI.5-6) instead of complaining that the state or society does not do this or that for them.

21. *The Timid versus the Heroic*

Somewhere, some time, some groups or sections must become sensitive to the nation's problems, must respond to the nation's urge for survival, and reverse the prevailing downward trend and mood of despair, and start the nation on its onward march

to confidence and hope. This signifies the igniting of the Promethean spark in some of our people, men and women endowed with firm convictions and the courage to live up to these convictions. Social problems often present themselves as vicious circles such as what are expressed in questions like: Does man create the social environment or does the social environment create man? The timid remain in them and just discuss them mutually, only to throw their hands up eventually in despair. They are bundles of opinions which, in the words of a scientist, are but the rattles of immature minds, and which have no power to move the world. *But men of the heroic mould transform opinions into convictions and develop the power of impact to break all vicious circles.* And they are the creators of history; they move onward and the nation marches behind them.

This is the force of character centred in a socially-oriented will. This was the blessing that man in India missed all these centuries. And this is the blessing that modern India received from its outstanding leaders like Vivekananda and Gandhi. This is the *vyavasāyātmakā buddhi* expounded by Kṛṣṇa in the second chapter of the *Gītā* even a little bit of which can save a man or a nation from great fear: *Svalpamapyasya dharmasya trāyate mahato bhayā*. Whatever may be our productive deficiency with regard to food for the body—and even this is now being energetically tackled and overcome—the nation is not deficient so far as food and nourishment for the mind or soul is concerned. The tragedy is that, in this latter field, we are starving in the sight of plenty.

Modern India has the great blessing not only of lofty ideas but also of great men and women who lived these ideas. Apart from the great spiritual personalities like Sri Ramakrishna and Swami Vivekananda, we have had also in this age scores of outstanding men like Iswara Chandra Vidyasagar and Mahatma Gandhi, who were men of high character and great courage of conviction, and who lived in and for others more than in and for themselves, whose greatness was intrinsic, and not extrinsic as derived from their power or position in society. They give us an experience of human excellence, of the true glory of the human spirit. They teach us that to be selfish, to be self-centred, to exploit others and die away one day does not constitute human excellence, does not express the true glory of the human spirit.

They preach to us in silence that to be manly and to stand on one's own feet, to extend the hand of fellowship to others, to use every ounce of surplus energy to bring happiness and cheer to millions of one's fellowmen—this is the true glory of man. As expressed by Vivekananda in a letter written from Chicago in 1894 to the then Maharaja of Mysore (*Letters of Swami Vivekananda*, 1960 Edition, p. 141):

This life is short, the vanities of the world are transient, but they alone live who live for others, the rest are more dead than alive.

Instead of striving to acquire this glory of manliness, the people of India, during the past few centuries, put the cart before the horse by striving to achieve the glory of piety and saintliness and they lost both saintliness and manliness in the bargain. We clean forgot that true saintliness is built on the foundation of manliness only; where that manliness is lacking, the saintliness achieved becomes cheap and a sham. The *Gītā* had warned us about this but we did not take it to heart (III.4): *Na karmaṇām anārambhāt naiṣkarmyam puruṣośnute*—‘Without the discipline of (life in the field of) action, man cannot reap the (spiritual) fruits of inaction (meditation).’ Not only we failed to be saints, but, getting steeped in worldiness, we failed also to be men in the true sense of the term. Nothing else explains the centuries-long stagnation of our society and its accumulation of social maladies like poverty, social injustice, callousness, laziness, and the mood of resignation to evil. Vivekananda alone diagnosed in depth this malady of our national character; and he, therefore exhorted the nation to develop manliness and strength and proclaimed manliness as the first phase of true spirituality. He became the preacher, for the first time since the *Gītā*, of ‘a man-making education and a man-making religion’.

22. *The Gṛhasṭha Growing into the Citizen*

Service is the first fruit of such an education and such a religion, from which it issues spontaneously, naturally, without the feeling of being *forced* to sacrifice, and without expecting special external inducements to prop it up. *Herein we see palpably the spiritual growth of man and the dynamic march*

of evolution beyond the organic level. Where this dynamic evolutionary movement is absent, human life gets stuck up in worldliness and becomes stagnant. Such stagnation is death, says Vedānta; and it is more to be feared than physical death. Sri Ramakrishna exhorts us to avoid this pitfall of spiritual death; says he:

Live in *samsāra* or the world; but allow not *samsāra* or worldliness to get into you; that will make you stagnant. A boat will be on the water; that is its natural place; but water should not be allowed to get into the boat; that will render it unfit for the purpose for which it is meant.

In this illustrative teaching Sri Ramakrishna has compressed the entire message of social ethics and practical religion. It envisages the *grhastha* or the householder evolving into the citizen; it exhorts the biologically and physically conditioned man or woman to grow into the freedom and expansiveness of the spirituality of citizenship, which manifests itself as renunciation and service, *tyāga* and *seva*. *This is the type of men and women that we have to turn out in increasing numbers in our society today.* When we do so, we lay the foundations of the new democratic structure of our nation on rock. But today it has only sand for its base; and it is certain that, as remarked by Jesus in his parable, (Matthew, 7, 24-27) 'a building built on sand cannot stand.'

Today we have to ask this very question : On what base are we to build up the structure of our Indian national life? That structure is already rising here, there, everywhere, through our mighty developmental programmes in the fields of educational expansions, scientific research, industrial and agricultural development, defence, and social welfare. Within the next twenty or twenty-five years we shall have solved many of our social problems, the problems relating to the environment in which human life is set. But one problem will remain, and will become more intractable as we advance in the solution of our environmental problems. It relates to the great question as to what is the type of man that will come out of all this development? Is he going to be a clever, crooky person whose increased knowledge tends to the exploitation of other people?

A worldly individual whose centre of gravity is always outside of himself and who has become stagnant in the world of sensate satisfactions? Or is he to be a dynamic person continuing his evolution in the psycho-social levels, who is thus sensitive to higher values and strives to realize them, and who has achieved, or is striving to achieve, the three-fold integrations referred to by Bertrand Russell, namely, integration between the self and nature outside, integration between the self and society, and integration between the diverse forces within the self-itself? This central problem of society, namely, the problem of human excellence, must be tackled from now onwards, the type of men and women that we want to see in the India that is emerging. If that India is to continue her glorious past into a still more glorious future, she will have to achieve a synthesis of the enduring elements of her own tradition with the finest elements of the modern Western tradition. This meeting of East and West was achieved in a big way in Swami Vivekananda. Every Indian citizen must achieve it in a measure in himself or herself. Vivekananda exhorts every Indian to strive in this direction (*The Complete Works*, Vol. V, Eighth Edition, pp. 29-30) :

Can you become an occidental of occidentals in your spirit of equality, freedom, work, and energy, and at the same time a Hindu to the very backbone in religious culture and instincts? This is to be done and *we will do it. You are all born to do it.* Have faith in yourselves, great convictions are the mothers of great deeds. Onward for ever! Sympathy for the poor, the downtrodden, even unto death—this is our motto.

What a noble vision of human excellence has been presented here! Every Indian citizen must strive to incorporate that vision in himself or herself as much as it lies in his or her power. Some may achieve it more, some may achieve it less, but every one has a common ideal of human excellence towards which he or she will be moving. This will provide a healthy direction to national energies and purposes, which will then cease to be self-cancelling and destructive, but become dynamic and creative. *Then will begin the march of India with steady steps and with*

sure and clear vision, unlike the wobbly steps of her blind movement today.

This is the privilege and opportunity of citizenship in the sovereign democratic republic of India today. That citizenship cuts across all divisions based on caste, community, profession, sex, or social position, and is the focal point of unity, loyalty, and service for all the five hundred and fifty millions of the Indian people. The fundamental and inalienable personality of man in India is his Indian citizenship; every other aspect of personality is secondary, but this is primary. One may be a cultivator, another a shoe-maker; one may be an administrator, another a simple housewife; one may be the prime minister, another an industrial labourer; one may be the *Rāṣṭrapati*, another a simple schoolmaster; and all these can be alienated and changed. But every one of them is integrally united to each other in his or her citizenship of free India. These are but the varied functions that citizens choose or are called upon to perform in the discharge of their citizenship privilege and responsibility. In the light of this, all work, from the shoe-maker's to the prime minister's, becomes transformed into service, the service of the nation, which views each of them as of national importance. The simple housewife discharges her national responsibility as a citizen by efficiently running her household, taking part in national affairs according to her abilities and limitations, and training her children in citizenship virtues and graces. Citizenship involves a sense of social responsibility, a will to rise above the limited biological self in conscious participation in the burdens and delights of society around. This is the spiritual growth of man; and this modern concept of citizenship is essentially a spiritual concept in the light of Vedānta, insofar as it takes him out of the limited ego into the experience of ethical awareness and social feeling. A mere physically-conditioned *individual* becomes transformed into a *personality* by such conscious social participation. A mere householder becomes a citizen, registering thereby an expansion of awareness, identification, and sympathy beyond the physical and the biological. This is the man or woman in whom the political and ethical constituents of citizenship fuse into the human experience of spirituality, the spirituality of

practical Vedānta. This is the central message of the *Gītā*. It is only on the strength of this citizenship, and the character-excellence it ensures, that we can strengthen the edifice of our democratic state, and add flesh and blood to our noble Constitution.

23. *The True Basis of Human Dignity*

Every one of us, therefore, in whatever fields of action we may be engaged in, is essentially a citizen of India; and, as a citizen, the only form of inter-human relationship that we can have is that of service. Whether we are administrators, doctors, lawyers, engineers, ministers, legislators, teachers, housewives, industrialists, or labourers, we must always remember that our primary personality is our citizenship of free India and that these are the functions which we perform in discharge of that citizenship responsibility. Earning a living thus becomes an integral part of the discharge of national responsibility, and subordinate to it. This attitude at once converts all action into service, or, in the language of Vedānta, all work into worship, the worship of God in man, the worship of the *Virāt*. The simple shoe-maker on the roadside and the mighty administrator in the secretariat, both are engaged in the service of society. Only, each has to be made conscious of this truth; that is possible only, when each realizes his or her true dignity and worth. No work is high or low in itself; but our motivations make it high or low. Without the spirit of devotion behind it, the work of a temple-priest becomes low work; with the spirit of national service behind it, the work of the farmer or industrial labourer becomes high work; if motivated only by the three 'p's, namely, pay, prospect, and promotion, the work of the administrator becomes low work, static and humdrum. But when illumined by the spirit of national dedication and service, it becomes high and noble. *The spirit of service, therefore, raises all work, high or low in worldly estimation, into high work in the ethical and spiritual estimation, precisely because that spirit raises the worker behind all work to the high level of spirituality, to that level where man achieves a qualitative improvement in his life.*

The spirit of service, therefore, becomes a universal milieu

in which all human life and action are spiritualized. *This is the transformation that life and work undergo in the light of philosophy.* We need to be inspired by this philosophy in India today. This is what will strengthen India, make for national integration, and all-round national efficiency. This philosophy will impart to India a vision of high human excellence and the urge to actualize it in life and character. The real source of strength for a nation lies in this type of men and women endowed with *prajñā* or creative intelligence, and not in its treasury, in its defence organization, or in its foreign alliances, says Vidura in the *Mahābhārata* : *Yat balānām balaṁ śreṣṭhaṁ tat prajñā balaṁ ucyate.*

24. *The Ethics of National Integration*

National integration is the fruit of ethical awareness. Mere aggregation of individuals does not constitute a nation, just as mere accumulation of bricks does not constitute a building. It is cement that joins brick to brick to make for the integrated structure of the building. The cement that joins man to man to result in the integrated structure of a nation is ethical sense, or what the *Mahābhārata* terms *dharma*, as defined by Kṛṣṇa in the *Karṇa Parva* : *Dhāraṇāt dharma ityāhuḥ dharmo dhārayate prajāḥ.* The five hundred and fifty million people thrown together in this blessed land of ours do not automatically constitute a nation; we need an integrating principle or value that will unite man to man. That principle is ethical sense which we have to manufacture from within each one of us; for it is a spiritual value that man liberates in the context of his spiritual growth. Ethical sense cannot be manufactured outside man; it cannot be produced by payment of material and other inducements, or by the injection of a serum. So long as man is content to live in the stagnation of *saṁsāra* or worldliness, he cannot manufacture this value even if offered all material and other inducements. For *this value is the product of man's spiritual growth, and that growth takes him beyond the tyranny of the physical and the sensate, beyond the tyranny of the delusion of worldliness which is 'I and mine'.* When this value is liberated in the hearts of increasing sections of our vast population, we shall witness a tremendous phenomenon of human integration in about a seventh of the human race. It will

convert India into a *national grid of awakened humanity*. Just as we are taking all steps to achieve a national electrical grid for the industrial unification and development of our country, *this is enduring nation-building through man-making*. And the clarion call that can inspire us today is what Vivekananda has given to us from the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* : 'Arise, Awake, and stop not till the goal is reached'.

25. *The capacity for Impersonal Loyalty*

This glowing picture of what India can be tomorrow is marred by our knowledge of what she is today. The present is undoubtedly unpropitious; but it is the product of a long tradition of political unwisdom and moral stagnation of our people. Every citizen should be aware of this national weakness and consciously work to end it. We had established in India many political states in the past; a study of why and how they failed and why we failed to establish an enduring national state will contain many salutary lessons for us today. Our states of the past were ruler-centred. The heart of the state was the person of the king or the emperor. As at the top, so at all the lower levels also, it was the person in authority that counted, whether it be the commander-in-chief, the viceroy in the province, and such other functionaries lower down. The people's loyalty was to the person of the ruler or of the other functionaries below. Our big country failed to develop either at the provincial or at the central level *an impersonal political loyalty* to an Indian state. Our loyalties became shaken with the death or removal of the person of the ruler, or the death or removal of the person of the commander-in-chief. Foreign invaders seem to have known this weakness of our people and of our state or states. It is not an isolated experience in Indian history of our national armies, fighting bravely against an invader, melting away when the king or the emperor or the commander-in-chief was killed during the battle. And foreign invaders would often aim their arrow or their shot at the king or the emperor or the commander-in-chief seated on the howdah. Such melting away of our armies has taken place even by the spread of false news to the same effect by the invaders. Not only the army and the people in general, but also the officers and the feudal lords failed to develop an impersonal awareness of, and

an impersonal loyalty to, an Indian national state. Their loyalty was primarily to themselves and to their self-interest, and secondarily to the person of the ruler as a means to the former.

The lessons of the failures of our past efforts to build an enduring political state in India *should be burnt into the minds and hearts* of our people today. We must assimilate the truth that a strong and enduring political state cannot be built on the basis of mere personal loyalties. *We need to develop an impersonal loyalty to our new free national state and to the high principles embodied in its Constitution.* We need to develop a respect for our Constitution and an impersonal capacity to respond to the rule of law. With this impersonal backing, the sentiment of personal loyalty, which we have inherited in abundance, becomes an additional source of strength for national integration. We are slowly and painfully learning this lesson of impersonal loyalty to our infant democratic state. Whatever strength it has shown during the last twenty years of its existence, whatever stress and strain it has faced and stood, is derived from this source. Whatever weaknesses have shown themselves up, similarly reveal only the long distance the nation has yet to travel to acquire this basic virtue, which we need not only to strengthen our political state, but also to strengthen, purify, develop, and ensure the continuity of all collective and institutional activities within the state. It is not a rare thing in India to hear people say: 'I used to take keen interest in such and such an institution when so and so was its head, but now that he or she is gone, I have no further interest'. An institution represents a certain social vision and the effort at its realization. If our loyalty is to that vision, we would continue to bear witness to that vision by continuing to serve the cause of the institution even if circumstances have necessitated a change in the person at the head, involving, however, no departure in the ideals and programmes of the institution.

26. *The Capacity for Imaginative Sympathy*

The cultivation of this impersonal loyalty, however, involves a spiritual growth within man from the psycho-physical self to the psycho-social self. This proclaims the intimate relationship between ethics and all true politics.

By such impersonal growth, man becomes a richer personality

says ethics. It is this impersonal-personal man that constitutes the ethical content of citizenship, without which citizenship merely means that one has only to stand in the queue and wait until he or she attains the age of twenty-one. Unfortunately, this latter view of citizenship is what most people in India have understood and acted upon, and it has contributed not a little to the prevailing national weakness and despair. Nepotism, bribery, business malpractices and other evils which are afflicting free India, have their source in the preponderance of blind *māya* over luminous *dayā*, and in the absence of that detachment from the worldly personality, in the absence of that spiritual growth into the impersonal, which alone endows one with mental clarity and moral strength to follow the path of justice when called upon to adjudge the claims between the qualified personal kith and kin and better qualified other persons. Attachment to oneself and to one's relatives is *māyā* and love for all is *dayā*, says Sri Ramakrishna.

This spiritual growth of the citizen will not only enhance the spirit of justice in society—and justice is one of the most stabilizing and integrating social forces which alone can make individuals and groups accept gracefully the shortages and privations of a developing economy—but it will also enhance greatly the citizen's capacity for sympathy and fellow-feeling. During the past centuries, our character had for its ingredients a bundle of negative virtues instead of positive ones. Our traditional capacity for sympathy was as much limited and warped by this and by the personal factor referred to earlier, as was our traditional loyalty to the state. Our religious and social codes did teach us to be kind and sympathetic; but our response to human suffering was neither imaginative nor sustained. As a people, we did not fail to respond to suffering and distress in front; but this response took the form of tossing a coin or two to the sufferer and then passing on, it looked as if we did this more to be relieved of the sight of suffering than out of a moral concern to see that the sufferer's suffering is relieved. We did not care to follow it up to see that social maladies are traced to their very roots and eradicated. Nothing but this static sympathy could have come out of the prevailing static, piety-fringed worldliness and self-centred socio-political attitudes.

When we substitute a dynamic spirituality for that piety-fringed

worldliness, and a deep social concern in place of our bundle of negative virtues and self-centred socio-political attitudes, we develop the capacity for *impersonal sympathy*, the sympathy of a wide-ranging and sustained quality. This is *imaginative sympathy*. It is not tied down to a concrete suffering in front, nor does it end up by the tossing of a coin to the sufferer. Imaginative sympathy proceeds from a deeper source in the human personality; it proceeds from its spiritual dimension from which dynamic ethical and social values proceed.

This is the personality of the citizen. Such citizens alone are the guarantee of social health and social progress. And when administrators are recruited from a social *milieu* which consists of a general body of such citizens, the administration becomes responsive to social urges and needs. The difference between a police state and a state aiming to be a welfare state lies in this social responsiveness of the latter. And this is the product of that spiritual growth of the members of the administration, yielding the precious capacity for impersonal sympathy, for imaginative sympathy. The secretariat and other institutional offices of the state are far away from the actual scenes of human life with its urges and privations. Yet the administrator, through his imaginative sympathy, recognizes, and responds to, that far away social situation. With his imaginative sympathy, he sees the file in front of him stirring into life and whispering words of human urges and aspirations. Every citizen needs to develop this rare capacity, but the administrator and the politician need it more. Without it, they both, singly or in combination, can turn a nation into a mess of problems; with it, they can lift a nation from the mess of problems to the sun-lit heights of cheer and hope.

27. *Dynamic Spirituality*

It is this transformation of man in India that will fill our politics and administration with a sense of urgency, with a sense of purpose and direction. *With this imaginative sympathy, things will move faster and faster in the administration, and the nation will march faster and faster towards its destined goal of general welfare.* It is the greatest asset for the administration of a state such as ours where the most glaring fact is its

centuries-long arrested development, and the mounting urge, since independence, for the minimum of human happiness and welfare gushing out of the hearts of millions and millions of its people, who have been, in the pungent words of Vivekananda, 'living the life of next-door neighbours to brutes'. The grasping of this fact and an adequate response to it by an administrator provides the finest, and the only, school for the development of his character and efficiency, and for the retention of his youthful zest and joy in his life and work.

This is the type of glory and greatness that should descend upon men and women in India in general, and the members of the administrative services of the centre and the states, in particular. It will make for the liberation of the spirit of service as a pervasive principle, lighting up the dark and dismal horizon of our nation today, and raising the spiritual quality of the life of its citizens. *To go here and there to be spiritual is like going here and there to breathe.* It is all *here and now*. We have to realize that spirituality is not magic or cheap mysticism, that it is not to be sought merely in caves and forests, but that it is the birthright of one and all, and is to be cultivated in the fields of one's life and work, in the midst of its ups and downs.

Our people need to be inspired by this practical and realizable ideal which Vivekananda has put before us in the modern age. He exhorts us that it is far better to live for an ideal for an instant than to lead for years the jelly-fish existence. As I quoted from the *Mahābhārata*, during my public lecture at the Ravindrālaya last evening, the words uttered by queen Vidula for the benefit of her son, king Sañjaya, breathes a heroic message for all our youths (*Udyogaparva*, 120, 15):

Muhūrtaṁ jvalitaṁ śreyo na tu dhūmāyitaṁ ciraṁ—'It is better to flame forth for an instant than to smoke away for ages.'

Some of the great men of India like Śaṅkara and Vivekananda lived short but intense lives. Theirs was an intense dedication to God and man, to God *in* man; and it changed the course of human history. It is better to live intensely for an ideal and vision than to vegetate for long years in a humdrum existence. *This is a powerful sentiment that can drive away the clouds of cynicism and frustration from the sky of India.* Every educated citizen has to teach himself or herself that he or she not only is in India but is also of India, and is responsible for the nation's

well-being. We have to inspire ourselves with the conviction that we have been called upon to be an instrument of our nation's purposes. What can be a greater glory for man in India today than this, that he is living in the most creative period of his nation's history and that he is privileged to contribute to it, big or small. When cynicism and frustration lay their cold hand of death on a person, he or she is unable to respond to any higher value, and becomes suspicious of all values except his own self-interest. Bernard Shaw refers to this type in a famous passage:

This is the true joy of life, to be used for a purpose which you consider mighty; to be a force of nature, and not a mere clod of ailments and grievances ever complaining that the world does not devote itself to making *you* happy.

These are the two alternatives before man in India today. Here is the great current of Indian national life; I am a part of it, shaping its course and being shaped by its current, losing my smallness and meanness in that great national participation. But if I cut myself away from that current, I become a stagnant pool, swampy and malarious, a clod of ailments and grievances ever complaining that the nation has not done this or that good to me. 'All expansion is life, all contraction is death', says Vivekananda. More people have taken the path of spiritual contraction, bringing the nation to the verge of despair and disintegration. From now on, let more and more people take the path of expansion, expansion of social awareness and sympathy, and the capacity for calm, silent, hard work, inspired by team spirit and we shall arrest this downward trend and turn the nation to progress and prosperity, unity and strength.

28. *Bhartṛhari's Social Classification*

We can better understand the anatomy of our society today by listening to what the poet-king Bhartṛhari says about the human types in a society. Bhartṛhari hailed from the Malwa region of neighbouring Madhya Pradesh and lived over thirteen hundred years ago. Says he in his *Nītiśataka* (Verse 64):

*Eke satpuruṣāḥ parārthaghaṭākāḥ svārthān parityajya ye,
sāmānyāstu parārthamudyamabhṛtā svārthāvirodhena ye;
Te' mī mānavarākṣasāḥ parahitam svārthāya nighnanti ye,
ye tu ghnanti nirarthakam parahitam te ke na jānīmahe—*

There are some *satpuruṣas*, good people, who engage themselves in the good of others sacrificing their own self-interest; the *sāmānyās*, the generality of people, on the other hand, are those who engage themselves in the good of others so long as it does not involve the sacrifice of their own self-interest. There are those others, the *mānavarākṣasās*, devilish men, who sacrifice the good of others to gain their own selfish ends; but alas, what am I to say of those who sacrifice the good of others without gaining thereby any good to themselves or to any one else!

The first category is that of the *satpuruṣa*, the good man. What does his goodness consist in? It is an overflowing goodness uncontaminated by any selfish motive. Such people always work to ensure the welfare of other people without caring for their own self-interest. This is the most glorious type in any society; they form its spiritual elite; they are, as the New Testament puts it, the salt of the earth.

Apart from those whom the world looks upon as divine incarnations, *satpuruṣa* category includes men like Gandhiji. He might have remained a barrister and could have led a comfortable life. But he discovered himself in others and, dying to himself, lived for others. He dedicated himself to the work of rescuing from slavery and fear millions of his fellowmen, and making them realize the dignity and worth of their manhood and womanhood.

The poet then speaks of the second category—the *sāmānyās*, the generality of people—the majority in every society. What is the mental make-up? They serve the interest of other people so long as it does not collide with their own self-interest. That is what British ethical and political philosophy calls 'enlightened self-interest'. And the majority in any society will be of this type. And what India needs today is an intelligent appreciation and application of this philosophy on the part, especially, of her industrialists and businessmen.

They have to realize that it is in their own self-interest to see that the nation prospers and grows. Industry and business have to realize that a flourishing economy demands the widest diffusion of purchasing power among the people. Foolish ways of getting wealth by which the rich become richer and the poor poorer are destructive of the process of wealth-getting itself even in a *laissez faire* state. The difference lies precisely in this that whereas, in the latter, the motivation is *mere* self-interest, in the former, it is *enlightened* self-interest.

Ethics does not demand of this category of people that they sacrifice their self-interest to do good to others. It permits them to seek their self-interest; but it tells them to widen their concept of 'self' by fully grasping the truth of the interdependence of men and groups in society. If I keep my premises scrupulously clean, but do not care to see that the town or village in which I live is also kept clean, I cannot escape the consequence of an epidemic breaking out from that insanitation in my environment. It is therefore in my own interest to see that my environment is sanitary. As societies become larger in territories and population, the concept of 'self' in man's view of his self-interest needs to be correspondingly broadened. A narrow idea of self-interest is based on utter ignorance of the social mechanism, with its subtle interdepending processes. Hence it is *unenlightened* self-interest. This becomes more glaring as a society becomes more complex with not only national but also international interconnections. Hence the need for raising self-interest to the level of the *enlightened* variety. This philosophy of enlightened self-interest is today inspiring international relations in such fields as the sharing of economic prosperity and technical know-how through trade and aid extended by advanced countries to developing countries. But it needs to be implemented much more within the national societies themselves, where all self-interest needs to be purified by the touch of *enlightenment*.

The poet then goes on to describe a third category which he characterizes as *mānava-rākṣasās*, devilish men. What is devilish about them? They destroy other people's welfare to gain more profit and pleasure for themselves. This is the *rākṣasa* type; and I am sorry to say that, since independence, we have been manufacturing this type in large numbers in our country. Every conceivable form of food and drug adulteration and

corruption afflicts our nation today. What is the source of this affliction? Men and women out to gain profit and pleasure for themselves at the cost of misery and unhappiness to millions. Why do they do so? Because they have failed to grow beyond their physical, biological selves. They have sharpened their intelligence and will by education, but failed to give a moral orientation to them. Putting these great powers in the service of their lower selves, they have become efficient instruments of social evil and suffering; and this is what *mānava-rākṣasa* means. At this end, one of these people adulterates drugs to gain extra profit to himself; at the other end, the drug is administered to hundreds of children with no effect; the children suffer and die. But what does *he* care about the social consequences of his action! He cares only for the profit from his business, and is callous about its consequences to his fellow-men.

This is *rākṣasa* type, a low type of humanity; but many of them are capable of being corrected by social and state action, and transformed into the second type, the enlightened self-interest category.

The poet can understand the ways and motivations of these three types of people; but he is at a loss to deal with the next, or the fourth category, and exclaims: *te ke na jānīmahe*—‘I am not able to understand them!’ Why? Because they believe in wanton destruction; they destroy other people’s welfare even though they do not gain any benefit to themselves thereby. Every society contains a few such morally demented people. Our nation has a more than healthy share of this type also today.

29. Conclusion

This is the picture of human society everywhere. These four types are there in Russia, America, Japan, China and in all the countries of the world, as we have them here in India. The only difference is in the ratio of the four types. And this difference in ratio makes the difference between society and society.

As for the first type, the *satpuruṣa*, every society does have a small minority of this group, unselfish, compassionate, morally alert, and spiritually sensitive. Every society *must* zealously create and nourish this small minority. Every society will have:

a majority of its population belonging to the second type—the *sāmānyās*, motivated by self-interest, but of the enlightened variety. But every society should take steps—educational and preventive—to see that the ranks of the third category are thinned, if not entirely eliminated. And the fourth should be completely eliminated, it should never be allowed to rise again. As to the second category, there is great need for vigilance that it does not slide down to swell the rank of the third category by too much preoccupation with self-interest and too little with enlightenment. This group has to be specially alert to see that its self-interest is illumined by its being subjected to the larger interest of society. *The moral health of the nation entirely depends upon this immense group steadying itself by drawing inspiration from the small minority of the satpuruṣa group above it.*

I do hope that, as remarked by me earlier, the self-criticism which is evident in our nation today, and which is a sure sign of the basic health of our society, will slowly generate the necessary moral forces to cure the nation of its present ailments. *The ailment is a moral ailment and the remedy has to be a moral remedy.* We all desire that our nation should be healthy, physically as well as mentally. We have achieved some notable successes in tackling our physical diseases. We have practically conquered malaria which was such a scourge even two decades ago. We are on the way to conquer the scourge of tuberculosis, with leprosy next on the list. As a result of these measures we have considerably raised the nation's life expectancy from about 29 to about 50 since our independence, besides improving the general health of the nation. *But the greatest challenge to the nation today is the malady that afflicts its mind and heart.* Cynicism, self-centredness, and utter unconcern for others are more deadly than the most deadly physical diseases and the viruses that cause them; *for they corrode the nation's resolve to be free, to be united, and to march onward to progress.* We cannot be blind to the fact that this disease has already invaded our body-politic, including our youths. We have to take energetic measures to arrest the further progress of this disease and to eliminate it from the body-politic. And the nation has to be alert thereafter to see that these deadly mental viruses do not invade our society again. This is the responsibility of every patriotic

citizen. We have no king or emperor ruling over us today as in the medieval and other periods. We live under a democratic set-up which derives its strength from its free, disciplined, responsible, and responsive citizens, to whom service of the nation is politics and religion in one, and in whom the nation has its guarantee of unity, strength, and continued progress.

The subject of the philosophy of service, therefore, is not meant for academic discussion in the dull philosophy courses of our universities; it should stir the minds and hearts of every section of the population. It is thus that the nation will get the necessary strength to meet the recurring challenges that this age of revolutionary transition will throw at it. *If India succeeds in responding to these challenges adequately, she will become a beacon of hope not only to herself but also to the whole of humanity.* We have responded successfully to many a challenge to our national existence and integrity in our long history. And we shall face and overcome this challenge as well. With this faith in ourselves and in our national destiny, let us, from this day onwards, enter our respective fields of life and activity with hope and courage.

SCIENCE, DEMOCRACY AND RELIGION

1. *Introductory*

THE subject before me is a vast one, and each of the three components—science, democracy, and religion—is a vast topic in itself and can keep us absorbed for hours; but I have proposed to tie them together and treat them as a single theme, in order to focus your attention on these great forces that are working in our country today to reshape it in a fundamental way.

2. *The Forces of Science and Democracy*

In the modern world, the forces generated by science and democracy have been operating in a variety of ways to transform human life. Already a vast amount of transformation has taken place in some parts, and the impact is being felt in other parts as well. Our country has been feeling the effect of these forces in a general way for the past half a century; but since our attainment of independence, we are being thrown, with increasing momentum, year by year, into the very vortex of these forces. The country today has to reckon with them. The age demands of our citizens an understanding of these forces, an acceptance of them, and an intelligent assimilation of their values, so that India may forge a new character and a new destiny for herself. A discussion of a subject such as this cannot therefore be of mere academic interest to us, but is fruitful of lasting individual and collective welfare.

Compared to other countries, there is something special and, if I may say so, significant in the inter-action and outcome of these two forces in the Indian context. For that context is constituted by a deep and abiding religious consciousness which derives its strength from a rational and comprehensive philosophy. Since historic times, religion has been

the most vital force moulding our individual and collective life; it is so even today. It has given us strength and vitality to stand the vicissitudes of our long history, resilience and adaptability to adjust to changing times, and an assimilative power to synthesize the new with the old, making for continuity in the context of progress. The problem of India in the modern age is the *assimilation* of the forces of science and democracy which are being grafted on to her spiritual tree. The success of this experiment depends upon two factors; the vitality of the spiritual sap running in the tree and its hospitality to the new forces contained in the grafts.

These new forces took their birth in Europe and America. The development of science and technology revolutionized the lives of people of those countries, releasing powerful social forces of which the idea of democracy is the most outstanding and pervasive. The intellectual force of science and the social force of democracy have had devastating effects on the thought and life of the Western man. These new forces could not be assimilated to the Western religious consciousness and tradition which did not prove a hospitable soil to them. The result is a schism in the mind of the western man, indicated by ever recurrent conflicts—faith in conflict with reason, the spirit at logger-heads with matter, and man in opposition to the universe.

3. *India Faces A New Challenge*

India's handling of these forces, the method and manner of her approach as much as the success of her endeavours, is therefore of more than national significance.

Whether we like it or not, science and its fruits are disturbing our slumber of ages; the 'good old days' are going out fast, never to return. The pattern of our economy, the web of our social family relationships, the mood of our millions, and even the values of our lives are all being thrown into the melting pot of modern transition. With the intensification of the pace of industrialization, the centuries-old staticity of our feudal society is being profoundly disturbed; social mobility is fast breaking down caste and other old forms of social relationships, and, faster still, the social sanctions behind them.

Virtues that sustained a static age are found to be utterly inadequate to the demands of a dynamic society. Everywhere, we witness the crumbling down of old values, old edifices, and old social and economic groupings. And this is just the beginning of our industrialization; we can well envisage, from the example of the experience of western countries in the last century, what disturbing effects it is going to have on the mind and face of our old society. It is good for us to visualize the consequences of the root-and-branch revolution that is in prospect in all aspects of our national life, and mobilize our national wisdom to meet its challenge intelligently and effectively.

A period of profound transition is not the time for complacency. India has experienced stormy periods in her long history. She had responded successfully to all such challenges on the strength of her tenacious loyalty to fundamental spiritual values, which she consequently placed at the foundation of her national culture. *It is this faith in spiritual values, which has been tested in good and evil fortune, that is being challenged and menaced by the most powerful storm of the modern transition.* All the previous challenges were mild in comparison, being only fractional, whereas this one is total. Is there not something in our age-old heritage which has the vitality to welcome these new forces—the intellectual force of science and the social force of democracy—and assimilate their values into the national heritage, so that it may emerge stronger and richer than before?

4. Science as Knowledge and Power

Science is characterized by a keen spirit of inquiry and a deep passion for truth. Under this supreme stimulus, and disciplined in its rigorous method, science has enabled the human mind in recent centuries to unravel secret after secret from nature and increase enormously man's knowledge of the world in which he lives. In its onward march, science as knowledge has disturbed the wayside calm of untested beliefs and comfortable dogmas. Therein lies its primary explosive character for the mental life of mankind. A secondary explosive character appeared when science as knowledge flowed into science as power.

Two hundred years of technological advance has ushered in a new era and a new civilization in human history. Technology has placed a vast amount of power in the hands of man, power derived from the control of the forces of nature. Part of this power has found beneficial expression in effecting the material well-being of man and the external solidarity of the world. The rest of it has functioned without large aims and purposes to thwart human evolution and even imperil the human race. In the modern world, to quote Bertrand Russell (*Impact of Science on Society*, p. 123): 'we are in the middle of a race between human skill as to means and human folly as to ends,' resulting in strife, insecurity, and sorrow. And to quote him again (*ibid.*): 'Unless men increase in wisdom as much as in knowledge, increase of knowledge will be increase of sorrow.'

5. *Science: Its Use And Abuse*

Technological advance has also disturbed the comparative static human situation of centuries; and out of the intensified social mobility generated by it has evolved a new ratio of social forces, which has given birth to the theory and practice of democracy. Democracy is a powerful social force in the modern world. The common people, the world over, who were creatures of socio-political circumstances created by the will-to-power of a few, are becoming transformed, through democracy, into individuals and ends in themselves and into repositories of socio-political power. The co-ordination, adjustment, and chastening of this will-to-power, originating in millions of ego centres, is the problem posed by democracy today.

The world is being reshaped by science and democracy. This reshaping is throwing up a new serious problem before the world—the problem of man himself; he is unhappy, unstable, and insecure. Vast knowledge and power given by science and democracy have inflated his ego and increased his power for evil more than for good. Efficiency as to means and folly as to ends have made him the only possible destroyer of his new civilization. The two world wars have tended to substitute a large question mark in the path of his destiny, in place of the melioristic hopes raised by scientific humanism and naturalistic ethics of the

earlier decades. The great fruits of science are being used for purposes constructive and destructive. They are running parallel to each other, and the fear that the destructive may overreach the constructive has become a constant spectre to the modern man. Two significant questions, therefore, remain to be adequately answered by every right-thinking person. They are: (1) Has science given anything of fundamental value to humanity? (2) So far as the individual is concerned, can it produce the right climate of peace and happiness for his total welfare? We say, 'adequately', because vague and incomplete answers to these questions are already in the field. The apparently unquestionable fact that science is never to blame—because it is neutral so far as its application or utilization is concerned—does not bring the problem nearer solution. There is seen to be more insecurity in a scientific world than in a pre-scientific one. Yet man needs the services of science very much, but not without safeguards against its possible abuses.

6. Democracy Enhances Human Dignity

Closely allied to, and dependent on, science and technology is that other great force of the modern world, democracy. Democracy—political, economic, and social—has been developing haltingly in the West since the nineteenth century; it has been developing and spreading all over the world since the twentieth century. The aspiration of every modern social or national unit is to involve itself into a democracy of the most desirable excellence. It is a magic word in modern society. It expresses and includes in a special way the highest aspirations of freedom-loving citizens in the colonial and dependent territories of our plundered planet. True democracy consists in enhancing the dignity of the individual and ennobling the aspirations of the group. The persistent demand of the common man for being recognized and valued as a full and free citizen of his motherland finds its strongest endorsement in the ideal and practice of democracy. Political democracy, with universal adult franchise as its chief source of power, serves to give back in large measure to each of the toiling millions his or her share of individuality and dignity.

In India we have, in our own small but effective way

accepted and brought into practice this all-round value of democracy by declaring our state a sovereign democratic republic. The idea of the democratic citizen stirs in the hearts of our down-trodden millions much confidence and hope, and, putting faith in their sound political sense and social wisdom, we have extended franchise to millions on a scale unprecedented in world history. Yet, much remains to be done in order to rouse the millions to self-conscious activity. A vast and varied programme of national education is under way, endorsing Jefferson's dictum that education holds the key to the stability of a democratic order. The nation is getting galvanized through the community projects and national extension services, the Bhūdān and Śramadān, and diverse other movements.

Thus, in an initial and experimental manner, we have accepted and dealt with this great world-moving force of man-on-the-march, which is democracy. And democracy in India means vast millions on the move. We are fully aware that such experiment in democracy is sure to bring about revolutionary changes in our individual and social life. In fact, we know well that great changes are taking place even now. Yet, unafraid of the future, India nurses democracy as a thing of supreme value to man not only in the national, but also in the international context. Accordingly, her new constitution lays stress on the individual's essential humanity, irrespective of racial, communal, or caste affiliations.

7. Democracy in India

Democracy has come to stay. How does India propose to assimilate this value to her hoary cultural heritage—a value which she has largely adopted following Western modes of experience? Will democracy get a new creative expression in the Indian context? Or, will she express only a pale imitation of its Western edition and eventually make a mess of it? These are questions of profound import.

What do people generally understand by the term 'democracy'? May be, the ballot box, adult franchise, government by an elected majority party, a cabinet responsible to an elected parliament, etc. Apart from these accepted implications of democratic theory and practice, it is necessary that

democracy should have a content of universal value which is something more than the merely political, social, or national. *It is obvious that that value is the ethical and spiritual content.* Without that content, our democracy will be nothing more than a mere carbon copy of what obtains in the democratic countries of the West. In several of these countries, the pendulum of state set-up has oscillated between its two extremes of democracy and totalitarianism. And in all of them, it has oscillated between the tensions of peace and the tensions of war. Social forces, developed and released by technology and democracy, have got to be chastened and guided, if they are not to oscillate between cold war and hot war. How are we going to avoid such a situation in India? Can we in India tame these turbulent forces and use them for national and international human welfare?

Man starts rebuilding himself and his society with the forces available to him at the time. Thus have grown and developed human culture and civilization in the various parts of the world. What is happening today? There is an inordinate amount of force and power, scientific and political, in the hands of man—hands often itching for a fight or for mischief. The problem of nations is how best to handle this force and this power in such a way as not to result in corruption in the wielders, and in confusion or harm to the people at large.

India thus is facing today, with other nations, this problem of handling wisely the forces of science and democracy. Some of the questions that arise in this context are: Who are the persons that are fitted to handle this power? What shall be the method of handling this power? And how shall the original and essential aim of ensuring the happiness of humanity at large be steadily kept in view?

8. *India's Spirit Not Opposed to Science*

In the background of these agitating questions lies the great spiritual heritage of India. Those who are acquainted with its vitality hold the hope that India can yet show the world how to understand, assimilate, and express human values which form the theme of democracy everywhere. India's spirituality can enable Indians and the peoples of the world to digest the

formidable forces that are being generated and placed in man's hands today. The spiritual meaning of democratic living and fulfilment, as taught by India's ancient and modern seers—in other words, the religion of the spiritual oneness of humanity—has to be revived and reactivated in men's thinking and day to day living, and its powerful influence brought to bear on these new and ever newer forms of scientific and social power, thereby giving them a higher direction and a loftier spiritual and human purpose.

This is the central message of religion. It is a message which requires to be specially emphasized in the world in which we are living today. The word 'religion' carries to some at least of the modern world a bit of bad odour. It is unfortunate. It is due to the fact that religion became identified with untested beliefs and dogmas. And these got shattered in the progress of scientific inquiry. In the history of Europe, religion has often functioned as an 'enemy' of science. But that experience is not universal or invariable; it is a story with its background in the West only and not in India. Our entire mental make-up proceeding from our long cultural experience is not only not hostile, but is very sympathetic and hospitable to, the scientific spirit. In his book, *The Discovery of India*, our Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, has expressed the view that science, which has much leeway to make in India compared to Western countries, is bound to make increasing advances here in the future because of the hospitality of the Indian national heritage to science. Says he (pp. 626-27):

Science has dominated the Western world and everyone there pays tribute to it, and yet the West is still far from having developed the real temper of science. It has still to bring the spirit and the flesh into creative harmony. In India in many obvious ways we have a greater distance to travel. And yet there may be fewer major obstructions on our way, for the essential basis of Indian thought for ages past, though not its later manifestations, fits in with the scientific temper and approach, as well as with internationalism. It is based on a fearless search for truth, on the solidarity of man, even on the divinity of everything living, and on the free and co-operative development of the

individual, and the species, ever to greater freedom and higher stages of human growth.

Science will have no opposition from philosophy or religion in India, as it had in the West. Our national thought is quite helpful and conducive to the growth of science. This is absolutely true, because we have a temper that always honours and welcomes knowledge of any kind.

9. *Knowledge versus Wisdom*

In the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* (I. 1.4-5), it is proclaimed that there are two types of knowledge: one the supreme, *parā*, and the other the ordinary, relative, *aparā*. All the knowledge of the time—science, literature, and arts, including the knowledge contained in the sacred Vedas—was relegated by the Upaniṣad to the category of the ordinary or *apara* knowledge. That alone is *parā* or supreme knowledge which helps to destroy spiritual blindness and reveal the ever-present spiritual reality behind man and nature. And this is the theme and passion of religion as understood in India.

In the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (VII. 1. 1.3), there is the arresting story of Nārada going to a great philosopher by name Sanatkumāra for thorough instruction in the knowledge of Truth. 'Please teach me, O Master', solicits Nārada. The teacher replies: 'Tell me what you already know; then I shall teach you further.' Nārada replies: 'I know what is in the sacred books, the Vedas; I know also many sciences like astronomy etc.', and he gives quite a long list of subjects. Then he concludes: 'And yet I am unhappy; there is gnawing sorrow; I am not able to get peace of mind', and adds: 'I have heard from great teachers like you that only the *ātmavit*, the knower of the Self, can get rid of sorrow. So take me across the ocean of sorrow.' To this earnest question of a great seeker, who had much knowledge but little peace and who was in search of that higher knowledge which puts an end to all doubts and sorrows, the great teacher, Sanatkumāra, replies: 'You have learned all the Vedas, the sciences, and the arts; but they are merely strings of names, words, mere transformations of sound; you must seek for the *meaning* behind all sounds, behind even all thought, the supreme truth

of Being.' And the whole chapter is an exposition of this great idea, the search for not merely the meaning of words, but the *meaning* of meaning itself.

This is philosophy, *parā vidyā*, the basis of all forms of knowledge, *sarva-vidyā-pratiṣṭhā*, the knowledge of That by which all else is known, and as such synthetic and comprehensive. The Upaniṣads contain an impressive record of great minds wrestling with the problems of life and existence and arriving at the truth of the unity of Being through perfect self-control, concentration, and meditation. Nārada as well as modern man illustrate Bertrand Russell's statement that if there is increase in knowledge without a corresponding increase in wisdom, such increase of knowledge is only an increase of sorrow. Nārada had the urge to go beyond knowledge to wisdom, and he pursued that urge with courage and determination. Many others like him had done the same, both men and women. Indian philosophy and culture bear the impress of their passion for truth, comprehensive understanding, and unifying and pacifying love for all mankind. Modern man is just beginning to feel the need to go beyond knowledge to wisdom.

10. *The Way of Wisdom*

But what is this wisdom? In our country, we have been taught that the nature of wisdom consists in the synthesis of all knowledge, in the awareness of That 'by knowing which all else becomes known' (*Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*, I. 1.3). It is that total *Weltanschauung* which includes and transcends all relative knowledge contained in science, art, and religion, leading to universality of outlook and unfettered sympathy. The attainment of wisdom is no quick process; because it involves a struggle to change human nature itself through the practice of self-control and self-transcendence—*indriya-samyama* and *tyāga*. As an unanchored boat driven by the wind and tossed by the waves gets lost in the turbulent waters, even so, this human personality, when allowed to be carried away by the turbulent senses, and by the mind that follows in their wake, comes face to face with grief and sorrow and spiritual disaster (*Gītā*, II. 67). The whole of modern civilization is but a palpable

reminder to man of this warning that life suffers shipwreck if there is nothing to check the outward tendencies of the mind and the senses, if it is not anchored in the inner Self, the fountain of all strength, resource, and joy. This is the great idea that the *Bhagavad-Gītā* expounds with force and lucidity.

Swami Vivekananda taught that the purpose of religion is to *transform man the brute into man the God*. This is not the sphere of science and politics. These do not constitute wisdom and the good life, but only provide the conditions thereof. Says Swami Vivekananda (*Complete Works*, Vol. V. Eighth Edition, pp. 192-93):

The basis of all systems, social or political, rests upon the goodness of men. No nation is great or good because Parliament enacts this or that, but because its men are great and good . . . Religion goes to the root of the matter. If it is right, all is right . . . One must admit that law, government, politics are phases not final in any way. There is a goal beyond them where law is not needed . . . All great Masters teach the same thing. Christ saw that the basis is not law, that morality and purity are the only strength.

If this message is properly understood, man will be able to grasp the meaning of science and democracy, make the forces they generate his servants, and utilize them to enhance life and build a steady character. And because our country has held on to this message of religion in good and evil fortune, and borne witness to the undying reality in man and nature, she is able to rebuild herself repeatedly whenever there is a sagging of her spirits and a lowering of her ideals.

11. *Schism in the Mind of the West*

Europe and America have for religion Christianity, which has been a great spiritual force in the history of the world. But in recent centuries, it has not been exercising very high influence on the Western mind, because most people in the West find themselves subject to the vagaries of a divided personality. Their loyalty is largely to science; but their religious beliefs do not find support from modern science which grew to

stature at the cost of religion. *Unwilling to disbelieve, but also unable to believe, many in the West have become just nominally religious, but essentially this-worldly, dazzled by the logic and visible achievements of science and technology.* There is, unlike in India, no unifying philosophy to mediate between faith and reason, faith and faith, and faith and life. Bereft of the sustenance of such a philosophy, religion in the West more and more tended to be removed from lived experience, to get confounded with dogmas and conformities, and reduced itself to an intellectual and spiritual sterility. This alone explains its failure to welcome chasten, and transform the intellectual force of science and the social force of democracy.

12. *The Vedāntic Synthesis*

That science is a fundamental force and that it does have a great message for all men is understood in India, no less than elsewhere. Human welfare partly depends upon the knowledge and control of the human environment, natural and social. Vedānta has always given an honoured place to science, as also to politics, in this sphere of human welfare. But Vedānta has also taught India that these two do not constitute the whole scope of human welfare. Man is more than a political animal; he is also more than an intellectual being. He has depths and heights which cannot be compassed in a purely materialistic or positivistic philosophy. Indian thought recognizes no compartments or divisions in the human personality leading to mutual exclusion and hostility in human aspirations and values, such as pleasure and profit, science and art, morality and religion.

The unity of man emphasizes the synthesis of his interests. While accepting the great importance of science and politics for man, Vedānta evaluates them in terms of his total needs and aspirations. *Man seeks things of utility for the sake of things without utility.* Science through technology can give and has given man things of utility in abundance; politics can give him things of utility of another order, a stable social order, the venue of his life's experiments. But neither science nor politics can give man peace or happiness, joy or a sense of fulfilment. These non-utilitarian values proceed from religion and morality. Science and politics can create only *conditions* for their

emergence, but cannot *create* them directly. Without this spiritual direction, the forces generated by science and politics nourish the lower self of man and become sources of sorrow and discord, division and instability for man and society. A knowledge which leads to the increase of sorrow is not knowledge but ignorance, the offspring of spiritual blindness. *It is spiritual awareness alone that transforms all knowledge into wisdom, and into forms of peace and happiness, love and service.*

13. *Spirituality Ensures Stability*

The transformation of the world which science and politics seek is powerless to ensure human welfare without the transformation of human nature itself, which religion seeks through a discipline of the whole personality. It is only such spiritually disciplined individuals and groups that can ensure for humanity at large the values of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, of liberty, fraternity, and equality. The peace and happiness of man and the stability and ordered progress of civilizations depend entirely upon the intensification of the spiritual awareness of humanity. With this spiritual awareness for foundation, the structure of civilization raised by science and democracy becomes strong and steady; without it, it sways in periodic crises to topple down eventually. *Without the inspiration of religion, civilization shall ever remain an unstable structure.*

That is the verdict of history. And India has held on to this faith in the primacy of the spiritual over every other value from the hoary past of her history. Science or politics, art or social graces are but means to advance the spiritual life of man. Guided by the synthetic philosophy of Vedānta, the culture of India has not rejected or excluded any tested human value, but has synthesized them all under the hegemony of the spiritual. Other social structures, tall and powerful, have decayed and fallen, being built on sand—on materialism and worldliness; but this structure, vast and lofty, has endured, being built on rock—on spirituality and unworldliness. India has more truly heeded the warning of Jesus, of gaining the world and losing the soul, than any other nation; and she has proved in her history that the world belongs to the unworldly; and the meek shall inherit the earth.

The dictum of the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* (VI. 19), that not through technological advances, but through the knowledge of God alone shall mankind attain peace and happiness, has great relevance for the modern world: *yadā carmavad ākāśam veṣṭayiṣyanti mānavāḥ; tadā devam avijñāya duḥkḥasyānto bhaviṣyati*. That idea has been the leaven in Indian culture; a little of that leaven can leaven the whole bread of civilization today. The way India transformed her knowledge and experience into wisdom with the help of this leaven of spirituality has a deep meaning for modern India herself, now in the grip of a revolutionary transition, and also for the modern world, which is in the grip of fear and sorrow and despair. In prosperity and adversity, in joy and sorrow, India has clung to God. She has acquired a spirituality which has stood the test of time and circumstance. Religion is not an opinion with her, but a deep national conviction. That is the sanction behind her voice, which is gentle, yet unmistakable, in its utterance, and hope-inspiring.

14. *Vedānta Seeks Universal Welfare*

Besides the integral unity of man and his interests, Vedānta also proclaims the unity and solidarity of all existence. The objective of Vedānta is the happiness and welfare of man; not man as divided into sects, creeds, castes, and classes, but man as man wherever he may be found. Based on this unitary and universal view of man upheld in her philosophy, religion in India taught that man, in the course of his development, in the course of his self-expression, generates various forces, physical or mental, social or political and that the development of these forces needs to be matched by a corresponding development of his inner spiritual resources, which alone can provide the factors of stability to an evolving personality or social system. If science and politics make for progress and development in the natural and social environments, there must be spirituality to make man adequate to this development. When vast powers are placed in the hands of man, there must be ampler powers generated in his heart through moral and spiritual discipline of the whole personality. Man loses life's battle when he fails to find the centre of gravity of his personality within himself, but seeks for it in everything outside of himself. *This enrichment of the inner*

life, this deepening of the roots to match the widening of the branches, this strengthening of the stakes of a tent along with the lengthening of its ropes. is the unique contribution of religion to civilization. Steady wisdom and stable character are its watch-words. Hence its message is eternal and perennial.

This wisdom or this spirituality is embedded in the great Vedānta, the philosophy which breathes the spirit of fearlessness, harmony, and universality. The advance of science or the development of socio-political thought holds no fear for a religion deriving its strength from Vedānta. Under its hegemony, science, politics, and religion will function in harmony and co-operation to ensure total human welfare everywhere. Its proclaimed objective is this universal human welfare, not national or racial, nor segmentary or fractional. Freedom, physical, intellectual, and spiritual, is the watchword of Vedānta, says Swami Vivekananda (*Complete Works*, Vol. III, Ninth Edition, p. 238). It seeks not only other-worldly, but also this-worldly welfare, not only *nihśreyasa*, but also *abhyudaya*, sings Gaudapāda, a Vedāntic teacher of the eighth century A.D. (*Māṇḍūkyaopaniṣad Kārikā*, IV, 2):

I salute this great philosophy of unity, which proclaims the solidarity of all existence, which seeks the happiness and welfare of all beings, and which is free from all strife and contradiction.

15. *Vivekananda's Practical Vedānta*

It is in the light of this Vedānta, which sees the unity of the Self and the non-Self, that Swami Vivekananda approached our pressing national and international problems. The freshness and vigour of his approach are derived from his comprehensive vision of unity and synthesis. In this context alone can we understand his passionate exhortation to the nation to concentrate its energies for some decades on the material and social advancement of the people. He pleaded for a 'toned down' materialism to suit our immediate requirements, for effecting the uplift of India's sunken millions. Says he (*Complete Works*, Vol. V, Eighth Edition, p. 50):

I do not believe in a God or religion which cannot wipe

the widow's tears or bring a piece of bread to the orphan's mouth.

He taught that the only way God can come to a hungry man is in the form of a morsel of food. He pleaded for materialism in the service of spirituality; material improvement, he held, is the condition precedent for India's spiritual and moral advancement; one is the means and the other the end, and he found no conflict between them. *With convincing logic and charm, he taught India and the West that spirituality suffers as much from lack of wealth as from too much of it.* And he found the spirituality of Afro-Asian countries suffering from the former and that of the Western countries from the latter. It is not to religion, in the limited sense of the word, that he asked the nation to turn to seek ways and means to work out its material and social welfare, but to science and democracy. Yet, he proclaimed that religion will ever remain the national passion in India; the search for the meaning of life lies beyond the horizon of man's material desires and struggles. The urge to know the soul, to know God, to pierce the mystery that veils nature, constitutes the religious impulse in man. Indian culture bears the deep impress of this impulse in its multitudinous manifestations. There need be no fear that material and political advancement may choke up this distinctive national theme; on the contrary, the energy of this impulse, according to Swami Vivekananda, will only find higher and higher expressions in the life of our people, when our centuries-old economic and social maladies become progressively cured through the applications of science and democracy. Religion in the limited sense of *mukti* (liberation) or *niḥśreyasa* has a direct message for only a limited number of people in any given civilization; it involves a capacity to gaze into far distant horizons of *being*. The immense majority can see only a limited range of the horizon, the horizon of material and social welfare, *abhyudaya*, the horizon of *becoming*. It is Swami Vivekananda's supreme glory that he re-enunciated the all-embracing spirituality of Vedānta and demonstrated the end and aim of all life's endeavours and struggles to consist in freedom—freedom from all bondages, actual and possible, physical, intellectual, and spiritual. This all-embracing touch comes out

prominently in his definition of religion (*Complete Works*, Vol. I, Eleventh Edition, p. 257):

Each soul is potentially divine. The goal is to manifest this divinity within, by controlling nature, external and internal. Do this . . . and be free. This is the whole of religion

The conquest of external nature leading to liberation from the physical, social, and intellectual bondages of the soul is the contribution of science and politics to the growth of the soul. They thus become transformed into forms of spirituality; they become departments of his 'Practical Vedānta'. Says the Swami (Sister Nivedita, 'Introduction' to *To The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, Vol. I, p. xiv):

Art, science, and religion are but three different ways of expressing a single truth. But in order to understand this, we must have the theory of Advaita (philosophy of non-duality).

16. *India's Opportunity and Privilege*

Says Romain Rolland in his book *The Life of Vivekananda and the Universal Gospel* (Fourth Impression, p. 283):

In the two words equilibrium and synthesis, Vivekananda's constructive genius may be summed up. He embraced all the paths of the spirit; the four *Yogas* in their entirety, renunciation and service, art and science, religion and action, from the most spiritual to the most practical. Each of the ways that he taught had its own limits, but he himself had been through them all, and embraced them all. As in a quadriga, he held the reins of all four ways of truth, and he travelled towards Unity among them all simultaneously. He was the personification of the harmony of all human energy.

In the strength of this equilibrium and synthesis taught and exemplified by Swami Vivekananda, India is in a unique position to demonstrate to herself and to the world the comple-

religion in the service of total human welfare. The world needs this synthesis very badly today. Never before in the history of humanity has there been such a spectacle of a plethora of material and social advantages outside and fear and instability within.

Says Sorokin in *The Reconstruction of Humanity* (Prologue): Bleeding from war wounds, and frightened by the atomic Frankensteins of destruction, humanity is desperately looking for a way out of the death-trap. It craves for life instead of inglorious death. It wants peace in place of war. It is hungry for love in lieu of hate. It aspires for order to replace disorder. It dreams of a better humanity, of greater wisdom, of a finer cultural mantle for its body than the bloody rags of its robot civilisation. Having foolishly manocuvred itself into a death-trap, and facing the inexorable problem, "to be or not to be", it is forced to pursue, more desperately than ever before, its eternal quest for survival and immortality.

Swami Vivekananda wanted that India should not repeat the mistakes of the West, but learn valuable lessons from the experiences of those nations. After our independence, we have seriously taken in hand the economic and social advancement of the country through the Five-Year Plans. We have chosen to industrialize the country undeterred by fears generated by the experience of the West. We have set in motion a country-wide enthusiasm for science and built and equipped a chain of national laboratories. And we have set our society in the direction of democracy—political, economic, and social. These are bold steps for an old nation to take—this pouring of strong new wine into this old bottle; but it has been done without the least tremor or fear, because of the discovery of the youthful vitality of India and the release of her undying spiritual energies by Sri Ramakrishna and Swami Vivekananda.

17. *Freedom and Equality: A Spiritual Urge*

The message of democracy is the message of freedom and equality. It is essentially a spiritual message, though it finds expression in political or social garbs. As such, the establishment

of freedom and equality can never be done on the basis of a mere political or economic view of man, or by mere political or economic methods. The urge for freedom and equality is a spiritual urge; equality is never a physical, intellectual, economic, or social fact; inequality in all these fields is the glaring fact. An appeal to equality cannot proceed or get a response from the economic man or the political man. Self-aggrandizement and exploitation are the impulses of man at those levels. If man had no deeper levels than these, all talk of equality would have been a cry of despair.

Western democracy is suffering from this surface view of man and the despair it engenders, owing to its shifting sandy foundation. That is why, in spite of centuries of democracy and the abundance of formal freedom and equality, the West is still far away from real freedom and equality. Undue emphasis on material values leads to breakneck competition and struggle, and causes the evaporation of the content of freedom and equality. These two values can be derived only from the spiritual nature of man, the spark of the Divine in him, which is the inalienable and invariable part of him, and which constitutes his real Self. This is the Ātman of Vedānta, the unchanging reality behind man's personality, unaffected by all changing social evaluations of high and low, rich and poor, man and woman, learned and ignorant. *Here we reach the rock-bottom of experience which provides the only secure foundation for raising the edifice of equality and freedom.* Freedom of man derives from this his spiritual nature; equality is the recognition of this divine thread of unity behind all apparent differences of personality.

18. *The Divine in Man : The Basis for Democracy*

Thus the Vedāntic ideal of the divinity and solidarity of man provides the only stable foundation for the theory and practice of democracy. Swami Vivekananda exhorted us to build our democracy on this solid foundation. The parable of Jesus about the wise man who built his house on rock and the foolish man who built his house on sand is significant here. Western democratic structure is built on the concept of the sense-bound man; it has its seasonal disturbances, each

succeeding one more serious than the preceding. To quote the words of Jesus (Matthew, vii. 27):

And the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house, and it fell; and great was the fall of it.

For it was founded on sand. And if we but copy the same, what profit are we or the world going to derive? If, on the contrary, we infuse our democracy with the spiritual idealism of our country and treat every man, in the words of Kant, not as a means but as an end in itself, we shall be creating a social order where man will become the focus and source of all value, and which will breathe the spirit of harmony and universality. Swami Vivekananda found the highest exposition of this sentiment in the following two verses of the *Gītā* (V. 19; XIII. 28):

Relative existence has been conquered by them, in this very life, whose mind rests in sameness, since God is same in all and without imperfection; therefore such are said to be living in God.

Seeing the same God equally present in every being, one does not injure the Self by the Self, and so goes to the highest goal.

True democracy is inconsistent with a narrow self-sufficient nationalism or sectarianism; it must tend to reach out to the universal. Breaking the barriers of caste and creed, race and sex, high and low, the democratic idea, deriving its sustenance from the divinity in man, marches on, without obstruction, to the realization of the universal. Swami Vivekananda desired India to uphold this ideal of the universal in her religion and politics, science, and literature. He desired India to strive for the evolution of a Vedāntic civilization where science and politics would be utilized to lead man to higher and higher levels of self-expression; not merely desired it, but *he also demonstrated that India, among all the nations, had the requisite historically acquired capacity to make that contribution to world civilization.*

19. Conclusion

Swami Vivekananda's thoughts on this subject are of invaluable help for our nation today. It imparts courage and clarity, hope and enthusiasm. And we shall need these qualities in ever-increasing measure as years go by and as the nation becomes fully self-aware and mobile.

Long before we embarked on an independent career of nation-building, we were fortunate to get, at the close of the nineteenth century, the guidance of a Vivekananda, the like of which no other nation has or had. In him has religion shaken hands with science in a common adventure for the deliverance of the human race in India and elsewhere. And whatever we may do today in India in this field will carry a vital significance for all humanity. Our problems are vast and varied. But we have an abundance of spiritual wealth, hardly utilized. It is true to say that *in the world of ideals we are starving in the sight of plenty*. We have need to develop practical efficiency to translate visions into realities. This will be the gift to us of true scientific discipline and social vision. Both are derivable from our national heritage and genius. Our democracy must become a live social awareness and discipline, instead of remaining a mere political technique of state. *The aim of all the three—religion, science, and democracy—is the creation of a pattern of human excellence and general welfare*. Their synthesis alone can ensure for man everywhere that inner enrichment and poise in the context of external prosperity and progress, which makes for a sense of creative living and fulfilment. While science and democracy deal with 'man the known', religion deals with 'man the unknown'. *A complete integral civilization cannot afford to sacrifice either in the interests of the other*. And India is called upon to show the way of achieving this synthesis for the good of herself and the world.

ROLE OF RELIGION IN POLITICS

1. *Introductory*

PRIMARILY, religion is a value which is trans-social and inward. It takes hold of an individual when he or she has finished with values which are sensual and relative, and craves for a value which is transcendental and absolute. In this sense, it transcends even the sphere of *dharma*, the sphere of social ethics.

2. *Religion as a Path to Niḥśreyasa*

Spirituality or godliness is an end in itself. Indian thought refers to it as the highest excellence (*niḥśreyasa*), the consummation of freedom through the realization of Truth, and declares it to be the *parama-puruṣārtha*, the supreme end to be sought after by man. All other ends and values—*dharma*, *artha*, and *kāma*—are collectively known as *abhyudaya*; they are values which man achieves in the social context in response to his deeply-felt craving for gross or refined joys and satisfactions. *Abhyudaya* and *niḥśreyasa* together constitute the sum total of human cravings, values, and ends. We cannot achieve *abhyudaya* except in the context of a society or group; and we cannot achieve *niḥśreyasa* except outside the context of all social relations. At the *abhyudaya* stage we walk arm in arm to progress and welfare; but at the *niḥśreyasa* level we march alone to the Alone. As well expressed by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, we move in single file at the last stages of life's journey to the heights of Truth.

3. *Religion as a Social Force*

Though religion, in its essential nature, is thus trans-social and individual in its appeal and function, it has a secondary

yet significant role in the important sphere of social relations. Much of this latter role has not been without grave defects in its actual functioning. History contains plenty of instances of religion acting as a bar sinister to human progress and welfare. To deal with the subject of the role of religion in politics is therefore a delicate task, especially in the context of present-day India where there has been an abuse and misuse of religion to the detriment of a correct assessment of the role of religion, on the one hand, and of the happiness and welfare of millions, on the other. Yet, it is worthwhile to face the task, for the stakes involved are high; there is urgent need to state the precise scope of religion both in relation to the individual and as a social force, and the contribution it can make to the health and stability of the social order. Both politics and religion stand to gain immeasurably from an approach to each other under the guidance of a philosophy such as Vedānta, which dares to view life in its totality and wholeness, and which has for its declared objective *sarva-sattva-sukho-hitah* (*Māṇḍūkya-kārikā*, IV. 2) or the happiness and welfare of humanity as a whole.

In the modern world, various kinds of forces, loyalties, and allegiances are trying to shape human destiny. In the midst of these conflicting forces and divergent loyalties, religion has to play a vital, progressive, and dynamic role. The aim of religion is to raise humanity to a higher ethical plane. Religion played its part in the past. But it has a much bigger part to play in the present. In the past our problems were few and comparatively simple. We had to deal with men organized into small clans and tribes. But the problems of today have become colossal because we are to deal not with small sectional groups, but with large national societies and with the whole of humanity itself. Whether we shall sink in or swim across the storming sea of the modern world will depend on our ability to organize the world into a single family on the basis of the spiritual oneness and equality of humanity.

4. *The Universal and the Parochial Elements in Religion*

Every religion worth the name contains certain universal elements along with others that are particular and parochial.

humanity is exactly identical. Nevertheless, religions, as practised by their followers, have been more regional, local and parochial in outlook and action, to the detriment of the universal. Religious organizations have developed and stressed sectarian trends and loyalties. But in the present-day world, anything that is parochial will not satisfy the situation. Today we are to deal with innumerable forces, ideas, and aspirations of man which transcend the barriers of sect and creed. Hence the problem of negotiation and adjustment is colossal and tremendous. No narrow and selfish view will answer the demands of the modern age. We are to look at things in the larger context, from the wider viewpoint. Only if the universal elements in all religions be released from their parochial and regional setting, can religion be made a progressive force in the world today.

5. *The Indispensable Nature of Religion*

The present world has witnessed mighty advances in science and technology. But in spite of all these revolutions in the domain of scientific thought and technique, modern man has not been able to discard religion altogether. Religion has not been allowed by the rational man of today to enter his life by the front door. Yet it enters his life surreptitiously by the back door. That shows that religion is still a vital force. But the religion that enters thus is, in the absence of the purifying aid of rational thought, mostly passionate, communal, and reactionary. Religion which regards all humanity as one and indivisible is a product of dispassionate thinking and, hence, progressive in outlook and action. The true purpose and function of religion is writ large in the history of human civilization. Its purpose is to make man truly civilized, cultured, and refined. Real civilization will come only when men and women become truly cultured, when they have learnt to refine their thoughts and chasten their feelings and sentiments. The function of religion is to *actualize* the spiritual oneness of humanity in ever-widening spheres, and develop human fellowship by reducing and obliterating the distance between man and man.

6. *The Modern Criticism of Religion*

It is sometimes said that religion has become a spent

force, that it cannot answer the demand of the modern scientific world and hence is not required now, and that in these days of scientific and technological development, religion has outlived its utility. This is the essence of the Marxist and much of the rationalist criticism of religion. According to Marx and other critics of religion, it is today nothing but a bar, sinister to social, political, economic, and intellectual progress. Religion, therefore, is the misfortune of man today; it is not a help that sustains, but a hindrance that impedes. What we now need is social improvement, and to do this we should discard religion.

To what extent is this criticism of religion a valid one? It is, indeed, true that we have made rapid advances in scientific discoveries, mechanical inventions, and material progress. But in spite of all our boasted achievements and progress in these lines, have we not moved backward as men? How backward we are is evident from our dealings with our neighbours and fellows. Have we moved forward in social feeling and sympathy? The answer is an emphatic 'no'. There still lies the savage in everyone of us. Civilization is largely nothing but the external trappings on the old savage. The discovery by modern psychology of the savage in man has set a serious problem for the civilized man of today to face and to solve. Our rationality and enlightenment are but skin-deep. The savage lies just below reason; it is mostly anti-reason. And it occasionally erupts to the surface sweeping aside all rationality and humanity. The problem before us is to tame this savage within us and to evolve an integrated personality and a dynamic character which will retain the precious vigour of the savage but chastened under the guidance of an enlightened *buddhi* or reason. Untamed passions create the temper in the individual and society tending to disrupt the even course of life. The world will have to come to religion to get the answer as to how to bring about harmony and adjustment in a world which is so ill-adjusted. Religion is called upon to play its part on a vaster plane today, in the collective life of millions as expressed in societies and states. Religion is not thus outmoded. If after years of civilization and democracy and progress men could wage two savage wars in the course of thirty years to destroy each other, can we call man civilized? Or that he has outgrown the sustenance of religion? No, our

passions are not tamed. The animal within us reigns supreme. Men are to live in harmony among themselves and also with their environment. Integrity within and integrity without are the real measure of a civilization; that is the vital function of religion; and civilization has to invite religion to its aid today.

7. Two Types of Men Do Not Seek Religion

There are two types of men who do not seek the help of religion. First, those men and women who are content to live in the world of their native impulses. Second, those rare ones who have controlled their passions and emotions and have raised themselves above the ordinary human level. Between these two levels at the extremes, all men need the sustenance and ministrations of religion. This role of religion has been emphasized in all the great world religions. Everyone of them has tried to evolve harmony out of chaos in man and society. If they have not attained the measure of success they ought to have, the fault lies not in religion nor in its teachings or teachers, but in us. We have failed the teachers and their teachings. We have invested their teachings with a dogmatic rigidity which the founders had not intended; for they believed in growth and development. It is our want of knowledge of the true meaning and purpose of religion that is at fault, not religion itself. Politicians and statesmen, democrats and dictators, presidents and kings, all come and go, but the great prophets of religion remain and endure. Religion has played its noble part in guiding humanity upward in the misty past of history; and it is still functioning similarly in spite of handicaps from within and without. The function of religion is to make possible for men and women a heightened and enlarged life, and a life in harmony among themselves and with their environment.

8. The Mission of Religion in the Modern World

Today religion is called upon to perform this function to humanity taken as a unit and not merely to exclusive sections thereof. This makes the task of religion responsible and heavy. The function is to be performed on a vastly wider

scale; religion is to compose the distractions of the world in which we are. Before doing this, and in order to enable it to do this, it has to compose its own distractions proceeding out of sectarian narrowness and undue emphasis on non-essentials.

Materialism has its due place in the evolution and progress of human society. But when it dominates over the minds and hearts of men, it betokens danger. Divorced from ethical and spiritual foundations, it has become a source of danger everywhere today. It is the animal in man that prevails over the God in him. Violence and hatred are the dominant forces of the present-day world. The purpose and task of religion is to tame and subdue these forces of hatred and violence in man and thus make for a higher expression of his psychic energies and impulses. Impulses by themselves are neither good nor bad. They become one or the other in the way we use them. We can take hold of all our raw impulses and energies and convert them into creative forces by means of an inner technology. By means of this inner technology taught by the science of religion we are to control and tame the 'libido' and raise it to the highest level of inspiration. Only a man who has controlled his passions and impulses is truly religious; he becomes pure and holy. He has attained real education at its highest and best. Such a man not only raises himself to a higher ethical and spiritual plane, but raises others as well.

9. *Religion versus Politics*

If this is religion in purpose and intent what role does it play in the narrow field of politics? In countries of totalitarian ideology, politics is everything. There no aspect of human life is left out of politics. All types of totalitarianism tend to dwarf the human personality. There are vast spaces of our being which transcend the sphere of politics. Nevertheless, politics is a legitimate field of collective human activity as it helps man to strive for and realize certain essential values of life. In our own country particularly, politics today is fundamental, for the nation cries out for the realization of these very values—values comprehensively described by our ancient sages as *abhyudaya*. We cannot, therefore, neglect it, but must give due weight to politics as well as to other aspects and activities

of human life.

Man is not an isolated individual living remote from society; he is a social unit. As members and component parts of society, we are to regulate our conduct, behaviour, and activity keeping in view the welfare of society as a whole. When we enter the realm of regulating inter-personal and inter-group human relationships, we step into the realm of politics.

Politics may be defined as a social science which seeks to ensure collective human welfare. To promote and ensure human welfare, we require knowledge and dispassionate thinking. If we study the evolution of society and the state in their historical aspect, we notice a slow but perceptible process of organization of men into wider and wider groups. The modern world has evolved the highest political entity in the form of the national and multi-national state. The world has not as yet advanced beyond this collective entity. We have not yet reached beyond the boundaries of the sovereign state.

10. Nation-States versus A World-State

The problem before us is how to enlarge the bounds of the political state and ultimately evolve a world state, a political organization of mankind as a whole; to utilize politics in order initially to ensure the welfare of man collectively organized within the state and ultimately that of man in the context of the world community. Politics is coeval with collective human welfare. The aim and trend of modern development is the building up of a world state. All the forces of the world today, both positive and negative, are driving humanity towards that consummation. The League of Nations was formed after the cessation of hostilities in 1919. The ideals and aspirations of the people of the world then for peace and international collaboration found embodiment in the ideals and objectives of the League.

The League failed; but such failures are only apparent, not real. Success evolves out of failure. We have now formed the UN (United Nations) after the World War II. Failures attending collective efforts should not be taken too seriously. When we look at history, we notice the continuous march of mankind from small groupings and structures to higher

and higher integrations and organizations. Families, clans, and tribes of the prehistoric times gave place to the nation-states and empires of a later day. And vaster aggregations are in the offing today. The history of the world, the history of humanity, is an arresting story of greater and greater integrations. The UN is undoubtedly more broadbased than the League of Nations. It is the best fruit of world political thought. It is the finest and noblest machinery that humanity has yet produced for its own collective welfare. It has its limitations; but these limitations proceed from the immaturity of contemporary political wisdom. Leaving the affairs of national concern to be decided by the national states, the UN functions as the world's platform to discuss inter-state affairs, to discuss subjects which are neither local nor national but international, and which affect the welfare of all the nations of the world. We should not think that the United Nations is a perfect organization. But out of the very failures of the UN something better will emerge.

Our next experiment with a world organization will undoubtedly be a better one. The future organization of mankind which will be erected on the debris of the present one will more approximate towards the ideal of human unity which religion has set before us. And religion has to guide politics to that consummation.

11. Politics of Power versus Politics of Service

If politics is to be subservient to human welfare, what is needed is the proper handling of power. In fact, the problem of politics is the problem of holding and using power.

Politics and power are convertible terms. Hence the problem reduces itself to the proper utilization and handling of power so that politics may really serve the purpose it aims at. It is a well-known dictum that 'power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely'. The problem before us is how to utilize power so that it does not corrupt others as well as those who wield it. Power, therefore, has to be purified and put under proper checks and balances. When unchecked power is exercised either by a majority upon a minority or by a minority upon a majority, there is danger to both the majority and the

minority. Power is a source of danger to those who cannot digest it. The citizen is made the seat of ultimate power in a democracy. He or she is the locus of sovereignty, of all authority and power. This power is transferred from the multitude of citizens to a chosen few with due checks and limitations. This is the least harmful, because the chosen few who are entrusted with the task of handling power are made accountable to the people below.

12. *Democracy : Formal versus Real*

Democracy is the finest fruit of political thought. It is the best device yet produced by man for checking and guarding against the abuse of power. Theoretically, in democracy sovereignty or supreme power is vested in the people as a whole. In actual practice, however, it is the few that rule and exercise power. It is possible for a state to be democratic in constitution and plutocratic in government. Certain modern democracies belong to this category. Democracy in those countries is therefore nominal, not factual.

The great subject of democracy requires to be studied by us in the context of India's background and needs. Indian democracy is to be freed from the evils and shortcomings of European or American democracy. If by democracy we merely mean the forms and structure of government, with adult suffrage and cabinet system and all that, democracy will fail in the future as it has failed in the past. Votes can be purchased, and inefficiency, corruption, and nepotism may rule everywhere. This does not mean that we are to bid good-bye to these dressings of democracy. Democracy has come to stay. Adult suffrage and the ballot-box bring a great message of hope to our people, especially the common man. Our task is to purify democracy of its age-old ills and defects. Can we institute something for the purification of democracy? This is the question which is posed before us. India alone can answer this question, because the answer is to be provided by spirituality which thrives most in this country. It is only in India that spirituality forms the central theme of national life. It is only here that spirituality commands the highest prestige and honour. It is the politicians and statesmen who attract the loyalty and allegiance of people

in other countries. In India, on the contrary, even in this century, a spiritual personality alone, namely, Mahatma Gandhi, has been able to command the deepest and widest loyalty and affection of the people even in the political field. We can purify democracy of its traditional shortcomings if we can infuse spirituality and a moral tone into its workings. Spirituality is the core of religion. It is the universal in religion, and its realization takes one beyond the local and parochial aspects of religion. It is a struggle to realize life's deeper values, leading to the deepest value which religions name God or perfection.

13. Role of Religion in Politics

When we apply religion to our collective life, we purify not only politics and democracy but religion as well. There cannot be any divorce between true religion and genuine politics. Religion, understood in its wider implication, is not a set of dogmas or practices, but a continual inspiration to take man to a higher ethical and spiritual level. We all know how the passions of the heart upset the balance of the mind and the even course of the world. Ideals and ideas in the heart of men are more powerful than even the atom bomb. The root of every happening in this world can be traced to the mind of man. Passions and bad temper ultimately lead to world-wide conflagrations. Wars begin, says the UNESCO manifesto, in the minds of men, and it is in the minds of men that defences of peace must be constructed. Unless we handle the problem at its root, it will be impossible for us to solve it satisfactorily. Everything may be lost by bad temper. It is said that the treaty of Versailles—a treaty of peace—was drafted by men of bad temper who were naturally ill fitted to bring about peace; and that treaty became the source of greater bad temper leading to World War II.

The problem of peace is ultimately a problem of the education of the citizen in the democratic values of self-abnegation, tolerance, fellowship, and service. To produce democratic citizens is the problem of education in a democracy. Men and women who have not learnt to restrain their passions of greed, intolerance, hatred, and violence form shaky foundations for a structure of democracy. The late Dr. Josiah Oldfield, speaking

on the subject of 'Peace and Internationalism' some years ago in London, observed:

No man should be sent to take part in the deliberations at Geneva who has not learnt to establish peace in his own home. More wars are caused by bad-tempered people sitting to discuss peace propositions than by good-tempered people sitting to discuss war measures.

All religions consistently emphasize the need for self-control, self-restraint, and self-denial. All religions teach us to practise love and abjure hate and to restrain the waywardness of the senses and the whims of the heart. We have to seek for the stability of civilization in this vital lesson of religion. Civilizations and states have tumbled down when they had lost their spiritual and ethical moorings. The past history of the world is a warning to us. Modern civilization, if it is to survive, must derive sustenance from religion.

14. The Rational versus the Irrational in Man

Today our so-called reason and enlightenment are at the mercy of our passions. We are not allowed to think dispassionately and rationally. It is a great service that modern psychology did to civilization when it discovered the irrational behind the thin veil of rationality. Only one-tenth of a man consists of rationality, the remaining nine-tenths of him consists of irrationality. The discovery of the twentieth-century psychology that man is an irrational being is a far greater discovery than the one that proclaimed that he is a rational being. Neglect of this irrational nine-tenths and concentration on the rational one-tenth explains the shallowness of much of the eighteenth and nineteenth-century 'enlightenment' and 'rationalism'. We, being irrational, our civilization too is irrational, and hence unstable. There is a tendency to interpret this discovery of modern psychology as a call to submerge our fugitive rationality in the all-powerful irrational. Some schools of literature and art and even politics have taken this road; but it is a perversion and snare, and betokens poor understanding of the course of human development and progress. Progress and civilization consist in

reason conquering unreason by enlarging its bounds, so as eventually to become co-extensive with mind and being. This is enlightened reason, the *buddhi* of the Vedānta. The value and worth of democracy is that, of all political forms and methods, it is the one road that helps to lead man to this consummation. But to be able to do so, democracy needs the flavour of ethics and the sustenance of religion.

15. *The Role of Buddhi*

Our task, thus, is to make man and his civilization stand on the foundation of enlightened reason or *buddhi*. To do so, man will have to be taught to restrain himself. 'Unless he erects himself above himself, how poor a thing is man!', sang Wordsworth the poet. Humanity has to be raised to a higher pedestal of existence and expression. If politics is really to serve human welfare, man will have to be taught to restrain himself, and more especially the few who handle power. We have to socialize everything. We may socialize our trade, business, commerce, transport, land, and industry. But this is not enough. Nationalization of many of the important means of production and distribution is not merely unavoidable in the modern context, but also legitimate as steps to the allround uplift of man, to the raising of the living standard of the people. But above all these nationalizations there is urgency for another type of nationalization which is the most important of all. This is the socialization of mind, the collectivization of sympathy and interest, the nationalization of the powers, especially of the gifted individuals of a community. We have to socialize our minds, ourselves first of all. It is only by doing this that we can ensure collective, allround human welfare. In Soviet Russia, which has successfully established economic socialism, the collective life of the people and the wealth of the country are managed by a small group of people. What is the impulse behind this group? Are they inspired by a spirit of service to society? Have they socialized their interests and sympathies? What guarantee is there in their philosophy of life against present or eventual misuse of the trust reposed by society in them? Man must regard himself as a fraction struggling to become an integer through selfless service of society; society is thus a wider school for him through which he attains

self-realization, and the experience of a largeness and a fullness.

16. *When Does Power Corrupt?*

Without this idealistic temper and approach, power is sure to degenerate, sooner or later, into a snare for the wielder and a curse for the people. Shakespeare refers to this type of degenerate man in these memorable lines (*Measure for Measure*, I. ii. 117-22):

...but man, proud man,
Drest in a little brief authority,
Most ignorant of what he's most assur'd
His glassy essence, like an angry ape,
Plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven
As make the angels weep. . . .

The history of the world teaches us that such power, unreined by moral and human feelings, is built on shaky foundations. The whole of Europe trembled at the touch of Hitler and Mussolini; but none could resist their downfall. They fell, and great was their fall. Pride of wealth, power, and pedigree is pride in the non-self which is the false self. Such pride is the source of meanness and pettiness. It also demeans others on whom it is exercised. There is another pride which humbles oneself and elevates the others. This pride proceeds from the depth of our being, our 'glassy essence' as Shakespeare calls it, or our 'inalienable spiritual nature' as religions put it. It is the source of that sense of human dignity which is the greatest value in us, greater than our wealth, our bodies, and brief dress-es of power.

17. *The Role of Spiritual 'Digestion'*

The protection and enhancement of this value is the great mission of democracy. *Śama* and *dama* (self-restraint and sense-control) are the two means which Indian thought prescribes for the creative taming of power. The truly great, says the *Mahābhārata*, are only those who achieve this (V. 34.42, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Edition):

*Vidyāmado dhanamadaḥ tritīyobhijano madaḥ;
Ete Madā avaliptānām eta eva satām damāḥ—*

All types of *mada*, inebriation or pride, such as inebriation arising from knowledge, wealth or pedigree, afflict only the *avaliptas*, the unregenerate ones, but these *madāḥ*, inebriations, become *damāḥ*, self-control, in the case of the *mahatām*, the truly great ones.

Political and other greatness, bereft of the touch of ethics and humanism, is a greatness which tends to humiliate all else around. It is the greatness of 'exploitation' as opposed to the other, which is the greatness of 'elevation'. Much of the world's greatness is attained by riding stealthily on the backs of others. But the greatness of a Ramakrishna or a Jesus, of a Mohammed or a Gandhi, of a Buddha or a Śāṅkara belongs to a different order; it does not lower and humble others. It, on the contrary, elevates all who come in touch with it. By coming in touch with these personalities, everybody, however low and humble he or she may be, feels ennobled and uplifted. Their greatness and elevation also enhances the dignity of men and women around. Slaves become masters, fractions become integers, and the already great become greater still. Power in this instance is only another name for humility. It is this type of power that can purify politics.

18. Politics : True and False

Every society calls for a band of gifted young men and women who are imbued with the humility of power and the power of selfless love. It is not difficult merely to administer a country. A handful of bureaucrats can do it. But to infuse life into the dead bones and muscles of humanity and raise men and women to stature and dignity require the ministrations of enthusiastic young men and women who are inspired with the passion to serve, the capacity to minister, and the inner purity to stick to the straight and narrow path of self-denial. It is the purpose of an ordinary politician to raise himself, if necessary, even by humiliating others. To exploit others for one's own selfish interests is the task of career politics as it is commonly understood. Politics will have to be raised to a level where it will not exploit humanity for itself but will exploit itself for humanity. We need such politics that elevates and ennoble the subjects and objects of power. Our society needs the ministrations

of such power, the services of such politics. A society which is steeped in misery, poverty, illiteracy, and superstition—a society where the rich exploit the poor, and the educated exploit the less educated and the uneducated, offers the most fruitful field for the experiment of democracy on these lines. All other politics will reduce millions to further poverty and degradation. In India and Pakistan, we require such leaders of the people, leaders who function as servants truly and not euphemistically. Mahatma Gandhi was a man who had built the edifice of his politics on the mighty ~~bed-rock~~ of character and who ~~regarded the whole world as his own~~. Small in stature, frail in body, but towering over everybody else in everything great and lofty, he has left an ineffaceable legacy for us all which we will do well to cherish and utilize. We are called upon to redeem the sunken humanity in India and Pakistan. If we fail to follow this blazing trail, we shall be restricting the scope of the freedom we have achieved and may even move towards anarchy. We are called upon to chasten ourselves at the altar of humanity. The masses understand this kind of politics, the aim and operations of which tend to raise them up from their present sunken condition. All other politics—power politics, career politics, etc.—compounded of slogans and catchwords, fair faces and foul hearts, are not only useless but pernicious. Democracy, if it is to play its role in the drama of human evolution in India and elsewhere, must be infused with the spirit and temper of religion, with renunciation and service as its guiding principles.

19. *Need to Develop Human Resources along with Natural Resources*

In the course of the next twenty or thirty years, we shall have undoubtedly reached a measure of economic stability and prosperity in our country. Our vast industrialization programmes will guarantee that. But can we say with equal certainty whether our stature as men and women will be raised *pari passu*? Will the accumulation of wealth and power lead to the decay of man? Should we not take steps to see that development of the capacity to digest wealth and power goes hand in hand with development of our natural resources? Along with

the generation of power through the harnessing of rivers' waterfalls, we should also generate a far more vital power—the national character—by harnessing, through a sound system of education inspired by religion, the psychic energies of our impulses and passions, so that the future Indian citizen may become adequate to Indian prosperity and power. Thus alone shall we build up the greatness of India on the greatness and stature of the Indian character, and not merely on her economic and military strength.

This should become the most vital element in our national reconstruction programme. Politics can help in the evolution of that citizen by striving to establish a social order which will be just and egalitarian. If the modern states can evolve social, political, and economic structures based on the recognition of the dignity of man and leading to the full development of his personality, they will be responding to the demands of the age. This is a stupendous task. And it is good for us to recognize that it is a stupendous task. Then we shall not be carried away by cheap political slogans and catch-phrases. It is comparatively easy to frame a democratic constitution for India or Pakistan; but to work the constitution in its true spirit is extremely difficult. It will keep us busy for days and months and years. We are to build up the future edifice of our free state on stable foundations. These stable foundations can be supplied by religion and religion alone. Citizens inspired by spiritual and ethical ideals, who find joy in giving of their best for the strength and sustenance of society and the state, and who enjoy the delights which a free and egalitarian society offers, are the fruits and flowers of a healthy society.

20. *The Constitution, the State, and the Government*

A democratic state derives its strength and stability from its citizens. The terms society, state, constitution, and government are sometimes used without discrimination, leading to much confused thinking and action in our country today. Government is the machinery through which the collective will of society finds executive expression. It is an instrument of the constitution. In its very nature, therefore, it is temporary and short-lived. Compared to government, the constitution is more

stable. It represents the political, economic, and moral aspirations and objectives of the people. When these objectives and aspirations change, the constitution also changes along with them. The American constitution was drawn up in 1776, but it has undergone many subsequent modifications to meet the demands of changed situations. In India, too, legislators are busy framing the set-up of a stable constitution. But here, too, provisions have been made for future amendments and modifications in response to changing social needs. In spite of this, constitutions are fairly permanent, comparatively speaking. It is only when it ceases to respond to, and reflect the ratio of, forces in a society, when it becomes a rigid coat of an elastic and dynamic social body, that a constitution cracks and explodes through social upheavals and revolutions. Then a new constitution takes its place, reflecting the new aspirations and forces. The test of a healthy constitution lies in a proper blending of rigidity and elasticity, ensuring continuity along with a constant adjustment to social changes through new provisions, amendments, or conventions. Nothing can disturb the continuity and permanence of such a constitution except a foreign invasion. The state represents the collective will of the society, its will to be and to become. In the state, the multiple centres of the will to be and to do, as also the will to be free, become focussed into a unity; it also organizes and expresses the sense of distinctness of a community from other communities. The sovereignty of a state derives from this sense of distinctness. This sovereignty, which in a monarchy was focussed in the person of the king, becomes diffused in a democracy in a multitude of citizen centres, making the citizens sovereigns and subjects in one. Sovereignty in a democracy is thus a unity in diversity, reflecting in this the plan of life and nature around. Therein lies the strength of democracy compared to all other political systems.

The state thus is the entity of which the constitution is the expression in thought and intention, and of which the government is the expression in action. The state endures through all changes in governments and modifications of constitutions. Ordinary social upheavals and revolutions may not affect the integrity of the state while they affect the nature and form of the constitution and government. The state gets its mortal

blow externally from a foreign invasion and internally from only one type of social upheaval known to modern experience, a communist revolution, whose declared objective is the total destruction of the old state and its structure and forms, whether democratic or even socialistic.

21. *The Role of Society as the Matrix of all Political Forces*

Behind the government, the constitution, and the state lies society, the matrix of all forces, the womb of constitutions and revolutions, placid like a calm lake at one period, erupting like a volcano at another—a moving, changing, struggling mass, constituted of a multitude of ego-centres belonging to varying levels of intellectual, moral, and spiritual evolution. Political revolutions and even social revolutions engineered by politico-economic forces, such as a socialist or communist revolution, rarely affect but a fringe of this vast ocean. Violent revolutions of these types may upturn states and shake up societies, but only for a time. After a few years, the impulse loses its dynamism and societies resume their even course as before, with only slight modifications and changes. This is the lesson of the French Revolution, as is also the lesson, now becoming slowly evident, of the mighty Russian Revolution. The price we pay is out of all proportion to the commodity we actually get. It is this consideration that leads us to view a violent revolution as the product of social despair and bankruptcy of social wisdom, and not as a product of historical necessity or as a factor of social progress. The only revolution that affects the very depths of society is the peaceful revolution initiated by a great spiritual teacher and the ideology and movement proceeding from him. Gently but steadily, the revolution shapes human desires and emotions and judgements in terms of certain lofty and spiritual values realized and taught by the teacher. It alters the ratio of social forces through a profound transformation in individual men and women, and effects in allround refinement in human morals and manners.

22. *Conclusion*

Thus, society is the supreme field for all enduring types of

welfare activity. And such activity is mostly silent and calm. To politics belongs all noise, the healthier the politics the lesser the noise and *vice versa*. A democratic state offers the best opportunity for this mighty work of social transformation. Here is national work of a magnitude and importance compared to which the purely political work is of small scope and consequence. Politics which was paramount before freedom thus takes second place after the achievement of that freedom. The edifice of political freedom needs to be founded on the bed-rock of social health and well-being. That work calls for youth endowed not with political passion and personal ambition, but with spiritual enthusiasm and moral fervour, and a grasp of the science of man and society. Only an edifice so built can stand the stress and strain of the modern world. To do so, we shall have to think and act dispassionately. Today when we are called to this task after centuries of national immobilization, let us proceed calmly and patiently to build the structure and edifice of our free society on enduring foundations. This can be done only if we tap the resources of inspiration proceeding from religion and join to it the other inspiration proceeding from science. This has been the way of India; and let us follow that way today.

LAW, SOCIETY AND THE CITIZEN

1. *Introductory*

LAW is one of those remarkable products of the human mind which has inspired and impelled human activity from the first dawn of self-conscious endeavour. As such, it is coeval with human society. Law has been the guardian angel of human evolution.

2. *Man versus Law*

The majesty of law is reflected in every step of the long road which man has taken from savagery to civilization. Law, therefore, has come to assume a sovereign and absolute aspect in the eye of civilized man instilling in his mind not merely respect, but also fear, with the result that he has begun to crouch before law, making a fetish of it. A partial view of the philosophy of law and of man is responsible for this unhappy situation. It took only the view of man as *subject* of law. But, to law, man is not only subject, but also *sovereign*. The sovereignty and majesty of law is relative to the concept of man as subject.

But man is also the sovereign of law. He is the law-giver. The majesty and sovereignty of mind as law-giver is absolute unlike the majesty and sovereignty of law which is its product. If man as the subject of law (which is what civilized society means) is lofty and sublime, how much more grand should be the conception of man as the centre from which law emanates, revealing a being of vaster proportions than what the concept of a merely civilized man unfolds? But is man, then, an individual or a double? A complete philosophy reveals him as a complex entity, subject at one pole and sovereign at the other and any number of strands in between. 'In my father's house there are many mansions', says Jesus. I shall not here enter into

the deep waters of metaphysics (though we are perilously near it), difficult though to avoid in the discussion of a serious problem like man.

3. *Law and Its Three Aspects*

Law has various aspects. First, there is law as embodied in the codes and regulations of civilized society, its civil and criminal law; next, there is natural law, the regularities, uniformities, and sequences observed in nature by science. Lastly, and belonging to a different category, there is the moral law within. The first gives civilization. The second gives science, and the third culture. In world history, broadly speaking, the first is represented by Rome, the second by Greece, and the third by India. These races have been the representatives of these three aspects of law, due to a concentration of attention by each one of them. Of these, Rome and Greece have ceased to be after passing on the torch to others. But India survives, demonstrating the primacy of the moral law over the other two. But the India that has survived is moribund, demonstrating also the inefficiency of the moral law in the absence of the context provided by the other two. True progress of man can be ensured only by a synthesis and co-ordination of the three elements. Restraint of conduct by means of external codes and regulations—what is meant by respect for law and law-abidingness—ensures the joys of civilized existence; knowledge of nature's laws through science ensures power for the further pursuit of the same joys, and of purer delights. But it is the deliverance of the moral law within, under the guidance and inspiration of a complete philosophy of man, that ensures true progress—the progress of man not only from savagery to civilization, but also from man as sovereign.

4. *The Moral Law and Its Three Stages*

This transition takes man through three well defined stages of moral and ethical behaviour. The first stage is reached when impulsive man is restrained by codes and regulations and made to behave according to injunctions and prohibitions. In spite of our boasted civilization of modern times, the vast majority

of mankind today—probably also in all ages—are still only at this stage of development. It is this fact that evoked the famous remark of Schopenhauer that our morality is only the product of our fear of the policemen and public opinion. It is this that makes the field of operation of civil and criminal law so vast and so varied. Man has not yet climbed the first rung of the ladder to self-realization. But the checks and restraints of law provide him with a steady base which, besides preventing him from going backward—reversion to the animal—provides him also with an external environment of progress.

The second stage is reached when man learns to find inner sanctions, and depends less and less on sanctions provided by external codes and regulations. The awakening of the categorical imperative transforms the externally restrained animal into the self-restrained man. True morality begins at this stage with the awakening of the moral law within—a law which is one of the rare wonders of the universe. 'Two things fill me with wonder,' says Kant, 'the starry heavens above and the moral law within'. This is the line of human evolution which transforms the merely civilized man into the cultured and refined citizen. Evolution, which, as an organic process, transformed the amoeba into the man, becomes now a mental and moral process transforming man into, first, the civilized and, then, the cultured, refined, and moral individual. It is only at this stage that man realizes the full meaning and joy of the beautiful conception of democratic citizenship and all that it implies.

5. *Man as Citizen*

The citizen is sovereign and subject in one. He is the highest product of social evolution. He makes laws and obeys them. Now, for the first time, through the long travail of evolution, nature yields to one of her cherished products the true joy of living and functioning. Freed from the thralldom of animal impulses, restraining himself in response to the categorical imperative, guided and sustained by his pure and detached reason, shouldering cheerfully the burdens of social existence and enjoying freely the pure delights that it offers and, above all, giving more to society than he takes from it,

the citizen stands before the world as the best ornament of society and the finest fruit of social evolution.

The citizen is the finest fruit of social evolution. But his evolution is not complete. He has some way to go yet. He has achieved self-realization in the social context only. The fullness of his self-realization lies just beyond this level. Social fulfilment takes him also to social transcendence. The citizen is still at the stage of moral tension. Complete self-realization marks the resolution of this moral tension.

6. *Man as the 'Divine Outlaw'*

This is perfection according to Indian philosophy. The citizen is moral; but the perfect man is morality personified; he is its fulfilment and expression. He is as far removed from the citizen as the citizen is from the vegetative man. The perfect man is the truly free man. The vegetative man is purely a subject; the citizen is sovereign and subject; but the perfect man is sovereign and free. He is the free, the equal, and the full. He stands head and shoulders above society and its laws, transcending them, yet fulfilling them. He is the completely self-realized man, the one of steady wisdom, not subject to social or any laws but obeying them cheerfully, purely for the purpose of social welfare. In short, the perfect man is the *divine outlaw*, and also the source and sustenance of all law.

Students of law today will become interpreters of law tomorrow; the young law student will evolve into the full-fledged lawyer. Interpretation of law is a social function; as such, the lawyer is one who fulfils an essential social need. Here arise certain questions: Does a mere knowledge of law entitle one to be an interpreter and expounder thereof? Does the social function of interpretation of law which a lawyer performs exhaust the possibilities of his personality? Is the concept of a 'pure lawyer' tenable or worthy?

7. *Man as Lawyer versus Man as Citizen*

These questions assume an ever-increasing importance in the context of India today as also in the world context, a context

provided by the modern transition with its ever-changing values in every sphere of life. Against this background, the concept of a 'pure lawyer' or 'pure anything' suggests a pure staticity, an entity neither touching nor being touched by the flow of life around it. If this entity had some sanction behind it in a placid age, it has become, in the dynamic environment of today, a mere anachronism. When every value is being questioned and new values are being adopted in place of the old, the mere interpretation of law becomes a function not only devoid of serious social value, but often detrimental to true social progress. Progressive values and laws proceed not from man as lawyer, but from man as citizen.

Self-realization in terms of the concept of citizenship as outlined above is the privilege of every social functionary—of the lawyer and of the lay worker, of the administrator and of everyone else. It is only through this realization, which provides a wider context for his function, that every social activity becomes invested with meaning and significance. The lawyer is called upon to interpret the law which, as citizen, he along with others has helped to formulate. Through this he and his function become truly socialized. He becomes a dynamic centre of social change and progress as much as of social interpretation.

8. *Law versus the Lawyer*

This consummation involves profound changes in the lawyer himself. The lawyer who seeks to interpret the law must himself fulfil the law first. In his own person he must have developed inner sanctions in place of external sanctions, self-restraint in place of external restraint. A master of the law is not one who has merely mastered the tenets of the law but also fulfilled the law in his own being. Any lesser qualification in the maker or interpreter of law is fraught with nothing but evil consequences for society and the individual. The prevailing social chaos in all parts of the world is not a little due to the above deficiency. The individual as citizen realizes a largeness and a fullness which flows into and uplifts his various social functions and activities.

9. *The Spiritual Basis of Democracy*

It is clear that citizenship of the above description is not something that can be conferred by any of the usual trappings of democracy like the franchise. These are certainly valuable; they provide the outer environment for the functioning of the citizen. A free democratic society involves not only freedom to vote and to legislate, which is usually what is meant by citizenship, but also the capacity to utilize that freedom—a capacity which is purely a product of mental and moral evolution, but not something that can be conferred from outside. Thus a citizen as understood in political philosophy is only a candidate to citizenship and not a full citizen who has been described above as the best ornament of society and the finest fruit of social evolution.

Man, in the colonial context, has yet to realize the meaning of citizenship as understood in political philosophy. He is subject, put not sovereign. For a vast number of people, this is a serious handicap acting as a bar sinister to their realization of that full citizenship. But it is no bar to the gifted and the great. These achieve citizenship even in the context of political subjection by the sheer weight of their moral elevation. But such are necessarily few. But their emergence and functioning even under such auspices serve to reveal not only their own inherent strength and greatness, but also of the greater worth and value of the moral as compared to the political constituent of citizenship.

10. *Conclusion*

If the immediate and urgent need of man in the Indian context today is the attainment of citizenship as understood in political philosophy, it is but as a means to that fuller realization of the same ideal. Many nations have long enjoyed the blessings of the first without making any appreciable progress towards the second. Citizenship in a true democracy involves more than what these nations have valued; they have valued the non-essentials as opposed to the essentials of democracy; this prevailing stagnation is the result. A democratic society centres round the democratic citizen—the man or woman who

has achieved or strives to achieve the fullness of self-realization. This ideal of citizenship is something worth striving for, and its call will be insistent as days pass, demanding of every Indian, whatever be the particular social function he or she fulfils, an enduring effort and struggle—mental as well as moral—for the creation of a stable and strong society peopled by citizens equal and free. In our struggle to realize the full meaning of the concept of citizenship in the social context and of perfection which is social transcendence—in this glorious struggle shall lie the meaning and significance of the Indian renaissance not only to the Indian people, but also to the peoples of the world at large.

THE ADMINISTRATOR IN A WELFARE STATE

1. *Introductory*

ALL men and women in a society have to carry the burdens of their individual lives, light or heavy, as best as they may. Education seeks to fit them to carry these burdens intelligently and cheerfully, besides training them to enjoy the delights of social existence zestfully and in peace. These burdens and delights, in the case of any actual individual, involve also the destiny of one or more individuals of that society. The conduct of an individual citizen, therefore, is part self-regarding and part other-regarding in its scope and consequence, the ratio of self and other content depending upon the intelligence and strength of social awareness of the individual. Citizenship of a democratic society implies the presence of a high ratio of these two virtues in all its members. This is achieved through a sound system of education designed to bring out the native talents and evoke the moral sense of all its citizens.

2. *The Uniqueness of Our Democratic State in Our History*

The state in a democratic society derives its strength from the coordinated wills of all its free and equal citizens. In the absence of this strength, the state becomes an imposition on the people. States have always been looked upon as irksome burdens by the people at large in our country, who have tolerated their existence for the little benefits of order and security derived from them. Throughout history, amazingly enough, people the world over have carried heavy burdens for small benefits. Occasionally, however, they have dared to pull down the structures through revolutions when they became too heavy.

for the first time in history, there emerges the possibility in India of building up the edifice of a state, not superposed on the heads of a tolerating and long-suffering people, but emerging out of the wills and urges of a free people, and deriving its strength entirely from that base. This is the concept of the welfare state whose socio-economic content has been concisely expressed in Kālidāsa's classic comment in his *Raghuvamśam* (I. 18):

*Prajānāmeva bhūtyartham sa tābhyobalimagrahīt;
Sahasraguṇamutsraṣṭum ādatte hi rasam raviḥ—*

The state took taxes from the people only to ensure their own prosperity in return, like the sun taking up moisture from the earth only to give it back in thousandfold measure.

3. *The Challenge to Politics and Administration in Our Democratic State*

Our sovereign democratic republic derives its authority from 'we, the people of India'. It has kept before itself the high objective of the allround development of all the people of our country, and is framing policies and measures for effecting national welfare. Today, it is true to say that the Indian state has behind it the will of the Indian people who accept it cheerfully, and not just tolerate it as an irksome necessary burden. But this cheerful acceptance, let us not miss to note, consists mostly of hope—hope that intentions and promises will soon flow into performances and achievements, hope that these will not get stranded in the upper social strata leaving only a few trickles to reach the lower levels, but will reach these levels in sufficient force to fertilize the national life at the roots.

This is what proclaims the importance of administration in the sphere of social functions. It is against this background of social hopes and expectations that we have to view the personality of the Indian administrator and his work. In these surging hopes and expectations, enthusiasms and efforts, we experience, to adapt Wordsworth's arresting phrases, the light of heaven lying about us in the infancy of our democratic experiment; we have to ensure that our infant state as it grows

through the years does not feel the shades of the prison-house closing upon it, does not feel the glow of national enthusiasm of the early years dying away to become career politics and dull bureaucratic routine, but will continue in its infant freshness to be attended by the splendid vision of the happiness and welfare of millions of men and women.

This is the challenge to politics and administration in our country today. When we seriously set our hearts to meet this challenge, we are led to the important sphere of spiritual and moral values in human life and work.

4. *Education to Give Us a Double Efficiency*

Education in a democracy is intended to give its citizens a twofold efficiency—moral efficiency proceeding from training in social awareness and sympathy, and physical and mental efficiency proceeding from training in productive talents and capacities and leading to material enrichment of society. This also is the basic training of the administrator in a democracy, which, through its educational processes, bridges the gulf between the ruler and the ruled. The administrator is first and foremost a man among men, a citizen among citizens; if he is anything more, it is as the efficient servant of his fellow citizens. What a refreshing idea is this for us in India and how different from the old notions of a demigod and know-all! The citizen specially trained to discharge an important social responsibility is the administrator. That special training seeks to equip him with high executive ability to serve society efficiently. This is achieved through the training of his intellect and will; it gives him a character strong and disciplined, and a keen intelligence; but it cannot inspire him with a deep sense of social awareness indispensable for the proper discharge of his social responsibility. The training of intellect and will alone is not sufficient for the purposes of a democracy; it may be adequate to run an empire of subject peoples, and that, too, for a time; but in a democratic welfare state, it is imperative for the administrator to develop fully the affective side of his personality too, his capacity for sympathy and imagination; his social awareness needs to be developed in scope and intensity more than that of the average citizen.

This second training is not such as can be imparted in any training institution, which can at best provide a stimulus to quicken and develop whatever social feeling has been implanted in the candidate by his earlier family training and social experience. In the absence of this important personality value, the administrator will increasingly tend to become unimaginative, egocentric, and wooden, and his administration will fail to respond to human situations in a human way. Even in dealings with a subject people, this type will spell failure, as our country learnt during its later phase of British subjection when, barring a few exceptions, this type of administrator predominated. But this type will spell disaster in the new India of free and equal citizens. The best safeguard against it is a fund of patriotism, a real, and not merely academic, love of our land and our people.

5. *Character Centred in Buddhi*

This integrated training of intellect, will, and emotion is what makes for richness of personality and strength of character. Such a training helps to evolve within the individual a new personality value, a new focus of strength and resource. This is *buddhi* in the language of the *Gītā*; it may be translated as enlightened intelligence. At the level of the ego and *manas* or sensate mind, intelligence is narrow, self-centred, and unsteady, being at the mercy of instincts and impulses. In the service of this intelligence, human knowledge and power express themselves as unsocial and sometimes anti-social forces, in manifest or subtle forms, bringing sorrow in its train to the individual and his world.

Says Bertrand Russell in his *Impact of Science on Society* (p. 121):

Unless men increase in wisdom as much as in knowledge, increase of knowledge will be increase of sorrow.

Buddhi connotes this ripening of knowledge into wisdom. Intelligence at the *buddhi* level creates a pattern of what Sorokin calls altruism in human character. It cannot function except in a creative and constructive way. Detachment and stability,

resourcefulness and sympathy, are the hallmarks of such a character, at once efficient and human.

6. '*Yogaḥ Karmasu Kauśalam*'

Herein is realized the much-needed combination of executive efficiency with social efficiency, the transformation of brute efficiency into humanized efficiency. This is the type of efficiency that a democratic welfare state expects from its administrators. To those who care to pursue further, this synthesis of character will lead to a third efficiency in the life of an individual, the spiritual one, whereby he or she will realize the meaning of existence in spiritual illumination.

It is heartening to note that the Indian Administrative Service Training School has kept this twofold efficiency as its objective, and has adopted for its motto the pregnant message of Śrī Kṛṣṇa in the second chapter of the *Gītā*, verse 50: *Yogaḥ karmasu kauśalam*—'*Yoga is efficiency in action.*'

A world of ethical and spiritual thought has been compressed in that brief message.

The term *yoga* has, since the last few centuries, conjured up visions of magic and psychic tricks, of lean people gazing down at their navels, or austere people looking straight at the tips of their noses. It must be a refreshing experience, and a bit intriguing too, for our bright young men and women of the Administrative Service, and others in other fields, to be now told that they are called upon to tread the path of *yoga*. But this *yoga* that they are called upon to practise has no kinship with that magical and misty variety; it is the royal, arduous road of all-round excellence, calling upon the young, vigorous and hopeful men and women of a society to dare to tread it, so that they may achieve the fullness of personality development in the context of their work for social welfare and happiness. The author of the *Gītā* must be deeply gratified at the prospect of the resuscitation of his long-neglected message by getting vigorous young minds of our country for its experimentation. Has not the great Śaṅkarācārya interpreted the *Gītā* statement about the decline of *yoga* and Kṛṣṇa's anxiety to resuscitate it through his vigorous disciple, Arjuna, in verse two of the fourth chapter, to mean that the decline is due to its falling into the hands of

weak and unrestrained people, resulting in the thwarting of social welfare?

7. *Conclusion*

Our politics and administration will have to breathe the spirit of this *yoga* if we are to realize the objectives of a welfare state, if we are to establish a polity based on social justice and social peace, a polity free from all forms of exploitation, not merely economic, but also political and mental. This *yoga*, however, is not a teaching to compose the distractions of a mere nation and people, but is universal in its scope. That it has in it the power to bring about peace and justice in the world at large was recently voiced by no less a person than the present Secretary-General of the United Nations, Dr. Hammarskjöld, while commending the sentiments contained in verse forty-nine of the second chapter of the *Gītā*: 'Work (with selfish desire) is verily far inferior, O Dhanāijaya, to that performed with the mind undisturbed by thoughts of results. Seek refuge in this *buddhi* or evenness of mind. Wretched are they who work for (selfish) results.'

'Out of the fullness of the heart the mouth speaketh', says the Bible, 'and the hand worketh to', adds Swami Vivekananda. *Yoga* aims to impart this sense of fullness to man and, through him, to the functions he performs in society.

THE TRAINING OF OUR ADMINISTRATORS

1. *Introductory*

I ADDRESSED this Training Centre some time in April 1961, and I am here before you again due to my love for our country and my keen desire to meet and exchange thoughts with members of the Central Secretariat staff who have the responsibility to ensure the tempo of our development programmes for the welfare of our people.

2. *Vivekananda and Our Youths*

You may be interested to know how men like me look upon these national problems. When I was a young boy, a student of a high school in a little village, I read Swami Vivekananda. Before that I had heard of Mahatma Gandhi's activities for the mass awakening of our nation. Those were the days of the non-co-operation movement and the great national upsurge which had helped to generate in the hearts of thousands of our youths a wave of feeling of love for the country and for our common people. I chanced to read Swami Vivekananda then; I was hardly fourteen. What a revelation, what an inspiration for a life of service to the country and to the people, was this study of Vivekananda! It opened up the vision of a life meaningful and purposive. Thousands of our youths had similar experiences. Swami Vivekananda's literature is available today in eight volumes of *The Complete Works* in English, as well as in innumerable books, large and small, in several of our regional languages; their study gives an education which no school book or college book can ever provide. That study will help to relate our school and college education to the

Lecture given at the Government of India Secretariat Training School, New Delhi, on 14 September 1961, and brought out as a booklet by the Union Ministry of Home Affairs in 1963, under the title: *Address to the Secretariat Training School.*

urges and struggles, hopes and aspirations, our dynamic social *milieu*. He was the first to point out to the nation this dynamic social *milieu* and to teach us to shape our life, individual and collective, against that background. Thanks to this dynamic background, I was able, even while young, to give myself an education which has made life purposive and worthwhile; and all these thirty-five years since I joined the Ramakrishna Order, it has ever been growing in meaning and purpose. I have always been seeking the company of people who are alive, alert, and sensitive to higher values; and when I come across people who are not self-centred and selfish, but who love their country and their people, I feel great happiness in their company. Wherever I go in India, this is the one blessing that I have always got, the company of people who are alert, who are aware of the great national upsurge around them, of people who feel the great joy of working for the country's development. Their association has given me great strength and fortitude. If that spirit is not there in any section, I feel somewhat suffocated in its atmosphere. A group of people who only talk about their own little things, trivial things, selfish things, that group will not be able to inspire persons like me. Swami Vivekananda has given us that great passion, the passion to work for the happiness and welfare of man. And he has told us that this life is trivial in itself. A little man lives his little life of eating and drinking, amasses wealth, perhaps by cheating a dozen people, leads a selfish life of pleasure or power for a few years, and one day dies away. Whether he lived or not does not make any difference to the world; but he himself thinks too much of himself, that he is the centre of the world and that the world is meant to subserve his ends. Such people will learn the great lesson, after some knocks from life perhaps, that to be alive is not merely to be alive biologically. Man's life is much more in the mind than in the body. We often forget this great truth that to be alive biologically is no life at all, that as far as man is concerned, the special arena of his activity is his mind, his thoughts, his awareness.

3. *The Inner Meaning of the Term Mānuṣ (Man)*

Sri Ramakrishna used to give a beautiful interpretation of

the word 'man'. In English we use the word 'man'. In Sanskrit and in our Indian languages, we use the word *manuṣya* or *mānuṣ*. *Mānuṣ* is the word in Bengali also for 'man'. Sri Ramakrishna used to play a pun on the word *mānuṣ*. *Mānuṣ kon hai? Mānuṣ manhuṣ hai. Jiske huṣ man (mind) me hai, vah mānuṣ hai.* If his *huṣ* is only in the body, he is not a *mānuṣ*. *Huṣ* is life, awareness. So he who lives in the mind and has the capacity to deal with the world from the point of view of the mind and not merely from the physical point of view, who is not a bundle of ailments and grievances, knowing only the instinctive impulses and the mere stimulus-and-response mechanism of the nervous system, he who puts all nervous impulses to the scrutiny of mind, and functions in a mental way, that man is truly man.

4. *Meaningful Existence*

In this particular field, during the last sixty-five years or more, thanks to the national movement, our country has been gaining new strength, as new segments of our population were steadily becoming aware of the nation's heritage, becoming sensitive about their responsibility to their society and capturing for themselves a meaningful and purposeful life. The cumulative result of decades of this type of experience was the attainment, in 1947, of political freedom by the country. If we had not produced such people in large numbers, we would have continued to be in bondage even now. 'Each man for himself and the devil take the hindmost' was not the philosophy that our country followed for the last sixty-five years. Each one of us should bear this fact in mind today; each one of us should strive to realize this larger dimension of the human personality; and when we do so, certain consequences are bound to follow. An utterly self-centred and selfish individual, who seeks to exploit the world for his own profit and pleasure, will reduce himself or herself to a zero; he is spiritually dead. When an individual overcomes that temptation towards narrowness, triviality of personality, he or she will begin to experience the pulsations of a larger and fuller life through his feeling of oneness with humanity around. When we achieve this, we evolve ourselves into beings of larger awareness and enter into

a world of ever-widening opportunity and hope, and experience real greatness of personality. The little self goes, and a larger and fuller self comes into being within us. It is this birth of a new individual, a new man or a new woman, that we need in our country today—an individual who is keenly aware of and feels his oneness with the vast surging mass of humanity around hungering for food, shelter, knowledge, and good life; struggling to overcome age-old backwardness and become progressive. When we become aware of it, we become entirely renewed and revitalized.

5. *True Education*

If we can achieve this, we can become satisfied that we have had the best of education. And that is what we are unfortunately lacking in a large measure at the present time. An education that will make us get out of the little prison of the ego, that will make us get into the vast hub of life around and make us function as dynamic individuals in that dynamic context—such an education, unfortunately, is not still the nation's privilege to have. The usual textbooks of schools and colleges do not give us much by way of such an education; but when we read the writings of men like Gandhiji and Swami Vivekananda, we get educated in the true sense, an education which makes for growth and expansion of personality. Says Swami Vivekananda (*Education* by Swami Vivekananda, Chapter I):

Education is the manifestation of the perfection already in man. . . .

Education is not the amount of information that is put into your brain and runs riot there, undigested, all your life. We must have life-building, man-making, character-building, assimilation of ideas. . . . The education that does not help the common mass of people to equip themselves for the struggle for life, which does not bring out strength of character, a spirit of philanthropy, and the courage of a lion—is it worth the name? . . . We want that education by which character is formed, strength of mind is increased, intellect

is expanded, and by which one can stand on one's own feet.... The end of all education, and training, should be man-making. The end and aim of all training is to make the man grow The training by which the current and expression of will are brought under control, and become fruitful, is called education.

6. *Joy in Work*

This is the type of the educated man and woman that our nation needs today; the nation calls for the services of such people in every department of its life, not only in the secretariat and the vast public services, but also in the ministries and among members of parliament, among teachers, doctors, lawyers, businessmen, and the general citizens. Everyone needs this type of an education which imparts a certain joy to life and work. We often forget that to earn money and just to maintain life somehow is not a big thing. If you work in an office and get your monthly salary, that salary can maintain yourself and your family; that salary cannot contribute joy or richness to your life beyond this physical maintenance. These other values have to be found from some other source, from within yourself. The joy in the work you do is a product of your own disciplined inner life; it cannot be the product of your salary. The money that you get from work does not automatically give you joy in your work; because its only function is to maintain your body in minimum comfort. But joy in work is something that you capture from the depths of your own being. If I have not learnt to do my work with joy, I will be no better than the animal which is tied to the *cakki* (oil mill); the animal goes round and round, gets some work done for somebody else, gets its daily ration of food, but does not experience any joy in its life or work. This joy is the special quality and prerogative of a disciplined and trained mind. It experiences joy in the course of work as much as at the end of it; to such a mind, the salary and the physical maintenance that is achieved from it are only the by-products of his disciplined mind; its joy and satisfaction is a commodity which cannot be purchased by any salary. Life-fulfilment cannot be the direct product of material wealth, however large it

be. The mother's joy in serving her baby cannot be assessed or paid for in terms of money. You may employ a maid on a certain salary to do it; but the mother's touch or the mother's joy will not be found there. Similarly, in daily life very often we nurse this feeling: I shall enjoy life when I finish work and go home, or when I retire and settle down. That is an utterly short-sighted and foolish idea of a living life. We have to enjoy life in the process of living itself. That is the correct Vedāntic outlook, the true philosophical outlook. Our theology speaks of people who used to work hard in this life, perform meritorious actions in this world, with a view to enjoying peace and happiness in heaven. Even today, there are people who adopt that view; they uphold a life of work as drudgery *here* with a view to enjoying *ārām* (relaxation) *hereafter*. All the trouble that they take here is only to get a little happiness in heaven. But in the Upaniṣads and the *Gītā*, there is severe condemnation of this attitude; the *Gītā* refers to it as a foolish notion that one should live a joyless life of drudgery here and seek joy in a future heaven. Why wait for a future joy which is not sure and certain, and spoil the chance of joy which is already in your hands? 'Why not be happy *here*, why not have heaven *here*?'—this is what the *Gītā* and the Upaniṣads ask. Our people have yet to realize the meaning of the deep spiritual message of these Upaniṣads. Many people whom I have seen work just like animals; animals carry loads, and if they get a little food in the evening, that is enough for them, that is their comfort and satisfaction. But during the course of work itself, in the process of work itself, they have not learnt to find comfort and satisfaction; this is the hallmark of a slave mind; they have not discovered the great truth that life itself is the field of joy. This is the spiritual message of all religions; this is the legacy of Vedānta to our people. The Vedāntic outlook, and also the modern outlook, is: 'Find joy in work.'

7. The Way to Find Joy in Work

How can we find joy in work? By working for oneself? No; it is not possible to find that continuous joy in work through selfish motivations. Frustration and ennui are the end of all

selfish motivations. Frustrations and nervous breakdowns are the end of a self-centred life. The first advice of modern psychiatry to such people is to get out of this prison of self-centredness and to find a genuine interest in other people. Everyone has to learn the lesson some day that the best way to be happy is to strive to make others happy. So wherever you find frustration, you will always discover that the person concerned had been too self-centred and the only hope for him is through learning to take interest in other people, to find joy in the joy of other people. This is the royal path that makes for health, for strength, for efficiency. This great truth—universal and human—we should apply to the world and to our life in it. What can be a greater source of joy for a young man or woman in this country today than to participate in the work for the country's development and progress?

8. *From Subjection to Independence*

An educated citizen is expected to think in these lines and to live on these terms. The broader, deeper vision of life is the fruit of true education. All narrowing down of life's scope is the fruit of no-education or ill-education. A child, before going to school, knows very little of its nation's or world's history. Some education in this line it gets from its parents, if they are themselves enlightened and responsible. The child's mind thinks in narrow terms to begin with; then comes his education in his country's history. This widens his mental horizon by opening up to him the past experiences of his people to begin with, of men everywhere later on, and he becomes a richer person by emotional identification with, and living through, these historic experiences. History opens up to the mind of the Indian student the long procession of his country's history marked by periods of glory, of tiredness and decay, of invasions, subjections, and humiliations, and of re-awakenings and reconstruction, depending on the nation's strength and alertness or the nation's weakness and lassitude. The nation has paid heavily for its weakness, lassitude, and disunity. During foreign invasions, thousands of our men and women have been kidnapped and taken away to foreign countries. We have been humiliated on a thousand occasions. Why?

Because we became foolish and short-sighted, narrow and self-centred. We did not think of India as a whole, but only of the region in which we lived, the caste or creed to which we belonged. We did not have a vision of our national destiny, and so did not develop a sense of national responsibility and a spirit of national service. These things did not strike us for centuries and we had to pay heavy penalties. A few centuries of slavery and oppression sat heavily on our life until we emerged into the modern period and the Western connexion, and began to get a glimpse of these ideas and values. Then we fought for the country's freedom. A new national awareness came to some of our people who taught the nation to straighten its back, to shed its mood of weakness and disunity, defeatism and slavery. After a hundred years of education in these values, the nation woke up; the old darkness began to vanish. And political freedom came in 1947, bringing with it the opportunity to work to make India really united and strong and the people enlightened and happy.

9. *The Challenge of Independence*

Freedom has brought us the challenge to build on this soil of ours an enduring civilization and culture based on the values of human freedom and dignity and equality. This is the privilege and responsibility which education must confer on our citizens in our democracy today. Education which does not instil this responsibility is no education at all. When you get education on these lines, you find life meaningful and purposive. Otherwise it is, just meaningless. Foreign rule ended and we became free in 1947. Does this freedom mean only job-hunting, the brown filling the vacancies created by the departure of the white? Can that be the main meaning and significance of freedom? How can man experience joy and elevation of spirit and life-fulfilment from such a narrow interpretation of the scope of national freedom? If the individual, out of short-sightedness, isolates himself or herself from the nation, it is death for that individual and, if such individuals multiply, death to that nation as well.

10. *Freedom and Responsibility*

So, our national freedom cannot be divorced from our

national responsibility. The growth and development of India is the responsibility of her citizens alone and of no one else; if everything goes well with India, we, her citizens, are responsible for it, but if something goes wrong with her, the responsibility will again rest on us, her citizens. Before India became independent, Britain was responsible for all rights and wrongs in India. The Secretary of State in Parliament in London was responsible for everything which went wrong here; and Indian nationalism used to criticize the British Government for all the injustices and wrongs suffered by the people of India. The people of India were like children then, without the burden of responsibility and the freedom of action as its prerequisite. But as soon as the British left and India gained freedom, the people of India also became burdened with that responsibility which is involved in all freedom.

But if the people do not rise to the occasion by neglecting to achieve the citizenship virtues of freedom and responsibility, they will continue in their mood of slavery, dependence, and 'childish irresponsibility', and transfer to the Government of free India their erstwhile attitude to the British Government and continue in the relationship of 'they', the rulers, and 'we', the ruled.

In a free society, the term 'we' must be used more often than the words 'you' and 'I'; people often forget this corollary of freedom. In the Constitution of India we have the Preamble which reads:

We, the People of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic and to secure to all its citizens:

Justice, social, economic, and political; Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith, and worship;

Equality of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all Fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation;

In our Constituent Assembly this twenty-sixth day of November 1949, do Hereby Adopt, Enact, and Give to Ourselves This Constitution.

11. *Citizenship in a Democracy*

It was not the Constituent Assembly members who gave us

the constitution, nor Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. It was done by the people of India through these, their elected representatives. And the people have the power to change it, to amend it, or to frame an entirely new Constitution. This is the substance of political freedom. Therefore, every citizen raises his stature by developing a sense of belonging to the nation, by continuing in the mood of the sentiment 'We' of the Preamble, and by developing responsible attitudes and forms of behaviour. This is the political education of the individual by which he raises himself in status and stature. Achievement of this sense of inward freedom and responsibility is the essence of education in a democracy. A democracy which gives education without imparting this sense of responsibility to its citizens will be a poor democracy, continually sapping its own foundations. When we have educated ourselves in this sense of responsibility, the work that we do and the jobs that we accomplish, as well as our entire conduct and behaviour, will bear the impress of maturity, earnestness, and social dedication.

12. Nation-building through Calm Silent Work

The citizen is responsible for the happiness and well-being of his nation. This happiness and well-being is the product of the work of millions of such citizens imbued with a spirit of efficiency, cooperation, and dedication, like the coral-islands which are built up from the bottom of the ocean by millions of tiny organisms depositing their shells, to emerge eventually out of the ocean as an island. Millions and millions of microscopic shells have gone into the make-up of a coral-island; similarly, little actions of millions of citizens go to the building up of a nation, the silent work of millions of housewives, artisans, peasants, teachers, civil servants, and others. History is made, not by striking events or flashy personalities, but by the silent forces released by the life and work of millions of the common people. Swami Vivekananda gave us a new outlook when he asked each one of us to consider that everybody else had done his work and only one's own work remained to be done; and on that work depended the welfare of the nation. Not the other way, as we are inclined to do nowadays: 'After others have done their part, I shall attempt mine.' This mood bespeaks

of an inner poverty. The other mood is characterized by robustness and high-mindedness. It expresses itself as a sense of duty and responsibility and proceeds from a sense of personal worth and dignity.

13. *The Meaning of Citizenship*

It is this mood and attitude that enables the individual to give of his highest and best. Otherwise, he becomes weak in resolve, inefficient, and static. No educated citizen should allow that to happen to him or to her; whether we are employed in the Secretariat or elsewhere, or living private lives, whether we are men or women, every one of us has a basic common personality, and that is our citizenship of free India; each one of us is primarily a citizen, and only secondarily a secretariat staff, a minister, an administrator, a doctor, an engineer, a lawyer, an industrial worker, or a farm labourer. These are merely the social functions performed by individuals; his individuality is only partially expressed through any one or all of these functions; but he or she discovers his or her fullest social personality only in being a citizen. If we define any social functionary in terms of logic, say a joint secretary of one of the ministries, this distinction between the total being of man and the partial nature of his functional personality will become evident. Now, when we define an entity in logic, we give two references of it—its denotation and its connotation; the first gives its comprehending generality, and the second gives its individual particularity. We define a thing by telling to what class it belongs and what it is or does in itself; and so, in the case of the officer in question, we will define him as a citizen who is chosen to perform the function of a joint secretary; similarly, a clerk is a citizen who is called to do a clerical function; and so also, a minister or a teacher, a sweeper or a housewife, and so on; these are all to be defined as citizens who discharge or are called to perform these respective functions. That word citizen is the most comprehensive concept, comprehending in a central unity not only all the various functions and relations of one and the same individual, but also the millions of individuals and their functions in a total national unity.

So, when we define each of the four hundred and thirty

million people of India, we mention two things about each of them—one common and the other special, one his or her denotation and the other his or her connotation. The common reference is citizenship. Each one is a citizen first; secondly comes the particular social function he or she does, through which he or she seeks to give expression to his or her citizenship. Thus, in being a citizen we express our total national unity. The joint secretary, the minister, and the humble sweeper are one in being citizens of free India. Their functions are different, but their essential being is one. This is the concept of human excellence in a democracy; its liberation in every individual is the high objective of education in a democracy.

14. A Twofold Integration

The citizen achieves a twofold integration—firstly, within his own personality, by the achievement of true manhood, and secondly, with the multitudes of his fellowbeings, by the achievement of a democratic personality. And this citizenship is primarily a state of the inner being of man, a value achieved within and seeking expression in outlook, action, and behaviour outside. What exactly does it mean? It means the suffusing of man's inner being with the values of freedom and equality. A citizen can neither be a slave nor a master of others. As he values his own freedom and dignity, he values these in others as well. He has learnt the secret of work, the art of cooperation and teamwork. Freedom with him is not a mere external trapping, not a mere social *milieu*, but the very constitution of his mind and heart. The work he does becomes the expression of his personality, spontaneous, joyous, and efficient. 'Out of the fullness of the heart the mouth speaketh and the hand worketh too', says Swami Vivekananda. His work is not the grudging product of external rewards or punishments, bespeaking of a grievous poverty within. In him has opened some inner reservoir of enthusiasm and power, making for more efficient work and more happy social relationship—the product of the double integration referred to above. This is the type of human excellence that emerges from the political and ethical constituents of the citizenship concept. Man grows in stature by breathing the invigorating air of freedom and responsibility;

without it, he remains immature and short-statured. This sense of responsibility is the most important constituent of the citizenship concept which we in India have to assimilate. We achieved external freedom when India became politically free. We shall achieve inner freedom when we learn to wed this external freedom with the value of responsibility. That alone will raise the stature and status of men and women in India.

15. The Problem of Mental Immaturity

Take, for example, any one of our youths; he is termed a free individual because he is a citizen of free India; but can freedom be thus taken for granted? Is it not also something that he has to struggle for and achieve? Suppose he goes about the streets throwing stones at the street lamps and breaking the bulbs; can he then be called a citizen? The answer is yes and no. In one sense he is, because he lives in the free society of India; but in another sense, and that in a more vital sense, he is not, because he has not developed his sense of responsibility towards his society. To destroy wantonly national property is the height of boyish irresponsibility; a child which breaks family crockery wantonly is irresponsible because he is immature physically and mentally. But a youth who wantonly destroys national property or does other things destructive of national wealth, honour, and well-being is physically mature, but mentally and morally immature. The nation can take it easy if such immaturity affects only a small number of its youths or its citizens; but it becomes a matter of serious national concern if they constitute a sizable majority, with only a minority constituting the mature responsible section. I am afraid our country is in that state just now. This sense of responsibility begins and ends with a small minority, but has not invaded the minds and hearts of our vast majority, not only of our youths but even of our elders. Many of the misfortunes from which free India is suffering today can be traced to this lack of mature outlook of the free individual in the educated section of our nation.

Education in a democracy is the primary means of inculcating this sense of responsibility in its citizens. If education fails to do this, democracy becomes endangered, and I personally feel that if our democracy is facing any danger today, it is from this

deficiency in our educational ideals and processes; free societies have more often succumbed to character deficiencies from within than to assaults from without. The maintenance and advancement of a free society depends upon the widest diffusion of the spirit of freedom and responsibility among its members. A society can ignore a certain measure of irresponsibility in its children; it is natural for children to be irresponsible; though, even here, a free society does not neglect to initiate methods and processes to educate even its children in the larger aspects of responsible thinking and behaviour, virtues which proceed from an education in good manners. But no society can tolerate irresponsibility in its youths and grown-ups and hope to survive. To carry over the irresponsibility of childhood to the adult stage, when one becomes invested with the privilege of the franchise, is a serious matter for the individual and for the community; it bespeaks of the inadequacy of the educational process of a society. No society, however, has a perfect educational system; its imperfection is reflected in the criminals and anti-social elements present in every society; but its success in every free society is reflected in the character, efficiency, and social awareness of the vast majority of its citizens. It is here that the weakness of *our* free society and the imperfections in its educational system become most pronounced. The criminal is only a small segment of those anti-social elements of any free society which, however, find wide diffusion in the Indian society today. It is a sign of a widespread psychological immaturity in the people in post-freedom India.

The words that Swami Vivekananda uttered sixty-five years ago ring true even today. In his famous speech in Madras on 'My Plan of Campaign' delivered in 1897 on his return from the West, the great Swami used the term *moustached babies* to characterize all such mental immaturity. In India today, our education is producing many *moustached babies* who fill high positions and low positions, men whose mental age and development of social awareness have not kept pace with their physical age. Real maturity of thinking and maturity of action must come to us; only then will our democracy become rock-based and poised for allround progress. We cannot afford to make a failure of our democratic experiment. We have suffered

enough for centuries from want of a stable state functioning with the support of the people and for the welfare of the people. In the absence of such a state, continuous tyranny—Hindu tyranny, Muslim tyranny, European Christian tyranny, one after the other, had sat heavily on the people for these many centuries. Today, however, we have for the first time established a state in India deriving its strength and sanction from the broad masses of the Indian people, irrespective of creed, caste, social position, and sex. This state provides us with a long-sought opportunity to work for the happiness and welfare of the people as a whole. A modern state, the burden of which the people will joyously carry on their shoulders—that possibility is there before us today; but, in spite of our republican constitution, such a state is only a possibility, but not an actuality yet. Its actualization depends on the people's education in the privileges and responsibilities of democratic citizenship. This is exactly the greatest desideratum of the times in which we are living. The nation has more or less successfully completed its two five-year plans. In spite of our weakness and foibles, we have marched on steadily and achieved a measure of success. The Third Five-Year Plan has commenced, and the nation must bend its energies to make it a resounding success. And how can this be done except by bringing to bear upon our tasks *a new sense of social urgency and national responsibility, a new sense of personal dignity, a new spirit of joy in work?* On these depends the steady march of India on the road to economic, social, cultural, and spiritual greatness. I stress these three values because a man works at his highest and best only when he is inspired by them. My work is best done when I become emotionally aware of the wider human reference of the work, a reference that takes me beyond my own pleasure and profit; it also reflects the spirit of personal dignity and worth which I feel for myself; it is also a joyous outpouring of myself. These three values are spiritual in nature; and a character which has captured them has achieved spirituality of a high order. The tragedy of our social situation lies in our undoubtedly high and rich spiritual heritage finding very little expression in the character of our people and in their inter-personal behaviour.

16. Light from the Example of Other Nations

This becomes highlighted when we compare our society with some other free societies. During my recent tour of seventeen European countries, including the U.S.S.R., Poland, and Czechoslovakia, I was impressed by the general level of practical efficiency and social awareness attained by the people of these countries. The same picture had greeted me in Japan also in 1958. In these advanced countries, there is a high level of general education, sense of social responsibility, and character efficiency. In fact, they are advanced countries not because they have a high level of material prosperity, but because they have achieved a high level of character and efficiency which are the bases of all advancement, including the material. The officials, ministers, teachers, students, and workers with whom I conversed in the Soviet Union impressed me with their devotion to work and pride in their country's achievements. That attitude helped to bring the best out of them. Love of country and the vision of its glorious destiny have a galvanising effect on the mind; they generate energy and enthusiasm; they make the citizen a dynamic centre for social progress and development. They also infuse into man a sense of personal worth and dignity and make him work with a feeling of privilege and joy. This is the general attitude to work which I saw in the people of those countries. You have not to coax a worker to do his work. He has enough self-respect to make him do the job allotted to him to the best of his ability. This is true not only of officers at the higher levels, but also of workers at the humbler levels. In India, on the contrary, an average worker has the tendency to be lazy and neglectful of his duties, and needs a good deal of prodding and much supervision; if left to himself, there is no certainty that he will give his best to his work. If a contract for a piece of work is entered into and the cost settled, the worker or the firm concerned, if inspired with the spirit of dignity and self-respect, will consider it a matter of honour to discharge the contract to the best of his or its ability. Mutual trust is possible only in the context of such virtues. And without mutual trust, social life becomes coarsened and weakened. On the virtues of personal integrity and mutual trust and cooperation, the advanced nations have raised their social

edifices. Can we claim the same in our country? Are we raising the material advancement of our society on those solid virtues? Since independence, our national morality has suffered an eclipse. There is a sad lack of personal integrity and mutual trust. Adulteration of foodstuffs and drugs, ticketless travelling, bribery and corruption, cheating each other and the state in a wide variety of forms—all these have assumed proportions so as to bring social morals to a low ebb; the most sinister aspect of the situation is the wide prevalence of the mood of cynicism and the scoffing at moral values and moral individuals. Cleverness has become life's ideal and not moral integrity. The continuance of such a situation will spell social disintegration. Fortunately, of late, our society has become aware of these sores in our body politic and of the need to take remedial measures. There is evident everywhere a keenly felt longing to raise the tone of the nation's morals and manners and to recapture the vital spirituality of India's hoary culture, which had morality for its base and vision for its crest.

17. Love of Wealth versus Love of Virtue

The Western societies have achieved this moral base and are aspiring for the crest of vision. To a visitor from India every one of these countries provides many striking contrasts to his own country in social morals. In Moscow I saw trolleys without conductors and inspectors to sell and check tickets. Within the trolley there is a box and a ticket roll attached to it; a passenger enters the trolley, drops the cost of the ticket into the box, and tears off a ticket from the roll. Except the driver, who in most cases is a woman, there is no other employee such as a conductor or a ticket-checking inspector. Nobody inquires whether you have put all the money or not, because nobody need inquire. Each man has a sense of personal dignity, worth, and honour. Nobody will do any mischief there. Millions and millions of people can be trusted to carry on with only these simple arrangements. Can we say the same thing here? Can even the secretariat staff be trusted? You arrange tomorrow for a secretariat bus without a conductor. It is certain that the bus service will be a failure on the very first day! Why? We have not enough of that sense of honour. We do

not ask enough why a policeman should be necessary to make us behave in a moral way. Can I not be moral by myself? Is it not my personal honour and national responsibility? But no; we rather prefer to be coerced into moral or lawful behaviour by outside compulsions. We need constant watching to ensure whether we are behaving correctly or not; the result is that one group of citizens must have another group of citizens to control and regulate them all the time. How can a nation go on with such poor character equipments? It must make us ashamed; this sense of shame and sorrow depends upon one when one sees a different picture in other countries. Adulteration of milk and other foodstuffs is not a practice prevalent in any other country except our own, not even in the comparatively more backward South-East Asian countries. We have yet to experience the glory and excellence of man *as man* and not what money, power, or pedigree invests him with. Love of easy money has destroyed our love of virtue. No nation achieves greatness that way. For all free men, personal honour is of greater worth than money and other possessions; in this respect, we were more free when we were politically unfree; after independence, we have given a higher status to money than to man.

18. *The Remaking of Man in India*

That is a tragic irony. Excessive love of wealth is the worst form of idolatry. Wealth is the product of human intelligence and labour; by surrendering himself to it, man is but falling down and worshipping an idol carved by his own hands. Man the worker, man the creator of culture and civilization, of wealth and power, of science and art, is, in our society, getting submerged in wealth, which is the least of his products. He has to be redeemed. He has to be resuscitated. That exactly is the work of true education. If man in India does not get this education, whatever may be her economic and other advancements, she will be building her national edifice on sand. The Western nations became advanced only by redeeming man and putting him on the pedestal of glory. Behind their scientific, material, and social advancement is the advancement of their men and women educated in self respect, cooperation, and

practical efficiency. We in India often copy institutions and methods of the West; but we hardly care to educate ourselves in that character of theirs which sustains their institutions and methods; and so we fail. The essential thing in their heritage is their character, their efficiency, their social spirit, their sense of personal honour and dignity. When these character traits are taken into our system, all other advancements will follow as a matter of course. Our nation is not progressive simply because we are having radios, and are going to have television sets, too. India can have television tomorrow. The All India Radio can easily institute a television programme in India and, after ten years, every home can have a television set. But is this a true index of national progress? The answer is a yes and a no. Yes, if behind it is an assimilation of the spirit of the West, its scientific outlook and character efficiency, its human and social awareness; otherwise, an emphatic no.

19. Man-making Religion and Man-making Education

Man's sense of honour and dignity and his sense of social responsibility, I saw these in abundance in Japan and the Western countries; that is their national morality. They may not claim to be religious or aspire to be saints; they may not be enthused in the name of God; but they have a sense of social responsibility, a respect for man as man and a respect for the dignity of man in their own person. The greatest achievement of the Western people is their character-efficiency and humanism, this respect for man in their own person as well as in others. They have grasped the spirit of manliness, which, according to India's own philosophy, the Vedānta, is the first step to true godliness. We in India have yet to grasp even the importance of this first step, in spite of our boasted religious culture. It is this man-making education and man-making religion that our nation can achieve through the guidance of Swami Vivekananda today.

What higher objective can an educated citizen of India place before himself today, asks Swami Vivekananda, than the development of character through the service of his fellow-men, the utilization of his talents for ensuring the happiness and welfare of the millions of his less fortunate fellow-citizens?

In a letter to an Indian disciple written from America in 1894, the Swami writes (*Letters*, Fourth Edition, p. 175);

So long as the millions live in hunger and ignorance, I hold every man a traitor who, having been educated at their expense, pays not the least heed to them.

What can be a greater treason than this against our state today, a state mobilizing all its resources of men and money for a war on national poverty and backwardness? Political treason is bad; but it is not an everyday phenomenon; a more frequent and more serious treason is the neglect of Indian humanity by the educated Indian citizen, according to Swami Vivekananda. How much money does a modern state have to spend so that you and I can become educated? The educated section in India hardly cares to ponder over these facts. But it is wholesome to remember it. A student's mere fees do not suffice to educate him today. No educational institution today can be run on the mere fees of its students. The state has to pay heavily for buildings, for equipment, for the maintenance of teachers even in an ordinary arts or science college; what to speak of engineering, medical, and other technical institutions? The education of an engineering, graduate may cost anything up to fifteen thousand rupees; a medical student may cost almost as much. Their fees will hardly cover a fourth of the total cost. So who pays for your education? The state, that means the millions of tax payers. Are you not thus indebted to the society for your education? Is it honourable or manly on the part of any citizen to take all this service from society and then forget society and live a self-centred life? That may be a sign of ignorance or low cleverness, but not of intelligence. Intelligence demands that I dedicate my talents to the service of the society which, in the stirring words of Swami Vivekananda, 'is the cradle of my infancy, the pleasure-garden of my youth, and the sacred heaven, the Vārāṇasi, of my old age' ('Modern India', *Complete Works*, Vol. IV, Eighth Edition, p. 480).

20. *The Anatomy of Efficiency*

When we conduct our life in the light of this philosophy,

when we acquire this social awareness, we begin to view our life and work in a new perspective; we begin to experience new sources of energies within us; we acquire a new efficiency. It is only through a larger social awareness that full efficiency is achieved by a worker. Efficiency is the product of intelligence yoked to great social causes consciously and deliberately; such an awareness brings out the best out of the worker. And without the stimulus of this wider reference, without the consciousness of national purposes, no worker can achieve true efficiency or life satisfaction. In the secretariat or other spheres of activity, therefore, there is this constant summons to socialize and humanize our outlooks and actions, to feel constantly the pulsations of the dynamic national development programmes. Behind every process and method of administration, we have to visualize the faces of the millions of the common men and women of India, hungry for a better life; behind every file of the secretariat is that humanity whose recognition alone makes for a faster movement of the files. This idea of a suffering humanity behind the file is an abstract concept; most people cannot be moved by abstract ideas; most people cannot be moved by such an abstract idea of humanity, most people are moved only by the sight of a concrete situation, by the sight of a suffering man in front; but education and culture are designed to endow man with this capacity for abstract sympathy, and imaginative sympathy, for man not present in front, but imaginatively visualized as existing in society and calling forth the energies of his head and heart and hands.

21. Capacity for Imaginative Sympathy

Take, for example, the most ordinary item of work in the secretariat processes, the pension papers of an individual. A man is about to retire from Government service; his pension papers are not yet ready; the time comes and he retires. He has been an honest officer. He has not accumulated any money. He depends upon his monthly pension to make his life go on; but months after retirement, his pension papers are not ready. How is he to go on? One year gone; two years gone; years of stress and strain after years of honest service. He moves heaven and earth, using all his influence, and after three years,

he obtains an interim sanction of just a part of his hard-earned pension; he is told that the remaining part is still under consideration. Why should this man be subjected to all this avoidable anxiety and suffering? There is only one answer to this question; it is that the officer or officers dealing with his file are more dead than the file itself; can such avoidable suffering exist in a society where the officers have developed a capacity for abstract sympathy, for visualizing the man beyond the file, a capacity for suffusing intelligence with imagination and social feeling? Such callousness in the machinery of Government results in a gradual sapping of moral earnestness in the citizens. Even an honest officer in such a situation will question his wisdom in being honest and would tell himself that he would have been wiser if he had accumulated enough money through dishonest means and provided himself against this contingency. There are thousands of such instances where a little abstract sympathy, a little capacity for human imagination on the part of the government, would have saved many from avoidable suffering and the nation from moral frustration.

22. *Man versus Machine*

Today one of the most important subjects discussed in secretariat procedures is how to expedite work, how to make the Government machinery move faster. A file moves only because there is a human being behind it. After all, the file is a lifeless object; but behind the file is a living man. And if that man is also dead, how can anything move? So the problem before the Government is how to ensure that living, vital, throbbing men and women are there behind its machinery of administration from top to bottom. Are the Central and State Government Services filled with live people, people responsive to the great life urges around them? Are they pulsating with the pulse of the nation? That is the only way to make India move. The Third Plan will become tremendous success if only 50 per cent of the staff in the various departments become live individuals in this sense. That is the true anatomy of efficiency. National efficiency is nothing but individual efficiency multiplied—millions of people becoming dynamic centres of social awareness and social change. The Third Plan calls for a little more of social

impulse, a little more social motive power, to make it achieve its targets of production and social development. The world is in the grip of tension; it may explode into a catastrophic war; our development programmes will be seriously affected in the event of such a war. This imparts urgency to our plans of social and economic development. India must be made strong and self-reliant before the world situation deteriorates further, so that she can achieve internal stability and exert more and more to contribute her quota towards the achievement of international stability.

23. Administrative Training and National Vision

The training programmes in this school as well as in institutions like the National Academy of Administration, Mussoorie, are intended to streamline the Indian administrative machinery so as to make it a fit instrument of allround national development. This training is largely training in methods and techniques, but it needs also to be enlivened by a national vision and identification.

The capturing of this national vision is what we need very much today. The achievements of Western countries make us realize that we have to travel a long long way to catch up with these socially advanced countries. The primary responsibility for this falls on ourselves. Other nations are helping us, and helping generously; but unless we become efficient and honest, and help ourselves, we cannot even utilize effectively the help offered by others; the Third Five-Year Plan has allocated ten thousand crores of rupees to be spent within the next five years. Whether we spend it wisely or otherwise depends upon us alone. But intelligence, patriotism, cooperation, and dedication can make these ten thousand crores yield ten times their value. One rupee will yield ten rupees worth of benefits in the hands of an efficient person, whereas ten rupees will appear as one rupee in the hands of a foolish person. So it is not enough that we have allocated ten thousand crores, but we should see to it that the allocation is spent intelligently and fruitfully so as to produce the maximum results. That is the real test of national and governmental efficiency. Scientific efficiency is teaching the nation how to double and treble agricultural

and industrial output; character-efficiency will similarly help the nation to increase the tempo of all round national development. With the achievement of such a character-efficiency, the whole apparatus of government and administration will become suffused with this scientific efficiency so as to ensure the production of maximum results from minimum investments at minimum costs; that is the responsibility of all citizens in a free society; and when government and administration become manned by such citizens, efficiency becomes the hallmark of all state processes.

24. *Kālidāsa's Concept of the Welfare State*

In one of our ancient books, the *Raghuvamśam* of Kālidāsa, the great national poet has given the criterion of a welfare state. We can well apply that criterion to our national welfare programmes today. We are engaged in bringing happiness and welfare to millions and millions of people who have been living the life of next-door neighbours to brutes for the last one thousand years due to the callousness and inefficiency of our rulers and of our upper classes. The image of India even today is not what is provided by the rich and well-to-do, but is what is provided by the half-starved and half-naked, unemployed and underemployed millions; we should never forget this image of real India; a handful of rich or well-off people do not constitute the nation. Millions of children are born in squalor and poverty every day, and grow and die in the same conditions. We have to keep this real image of India constantly before our minds; we will then become alive and vibrant with the touch of humanity; all our work will then become a worship and a dedication. We often forget that picture of real India while living and working in the midst of New Delhi and other cities, in the midst of our imposing and well-furnished office rooms. What are we doing for that India? Have we not conceived the welfare state idea and programme in terms of these millions who are our brothers and sisters? All our politics and science and religion shine best when dedicated to their happiness and welfare. Practical religion received a wonderfully refreshing orientation in our time at the hands of Swami Vivekananda. Quoting the words of his master,

Sri Ramakrishna, 'Religion is not for empty bellies', the Swami said (*Life of Swami Vivekananda* by his Eastern and Western Disciples, Seventh Impression, p. 644):

So long as even a dog of my country remains without food, to feed and take care of him is my religion.

He exhorted us not to identify religion with laziness or magic, but with character imbued with the spirit of renunciation and service. Spirituality is the core of religion; and spirituality is character; it is *being and becoming* and not some cheap mystical trick. True spirituality makes us aware of the divine in our hearts and in the hearts of all others, irrespective of caste, creed, nationality, or sex. The God of India is the God seated in the hearts of all beings, as taught by India's eternal philosophy, the *sanātana dharma*, the Vedānta. In the light of this philosophy, service of man becomes worship of God in man, making for the realization of human excellence as much by the one who is served as by the one who serves. It is the increase of such a spirituality in our citizens that will make for the realization of true social welfare in India. It is such a welfare state that is pictured in Kālidāsa's classic statement in *Raghuvamśam*—(I. 18):

*Prajānām eva bhūtyartham sa tābhyo balim agrahīt;
Sahasraguṇam utsraṣṭum ādatte hi rasam raviḥ—*

It was only for the welfare of the people that the state (under the Raghu line of kings in which was born Śrī Rāma in a later age) took taxes from the people; as is the case with the sun which draws moisture from the earth only to shower it back thousandfold (in the form of beneficent rain).

25. Free India's Concept of the Welfare State

The state under Raghu and his successors took taxes from the people not to squander them, not to enjoy themselves at the cost of the people, but to return them back to the people, amplified a thousand fold through governmental and administrative

vision and efficiency, in the form of a welfare programme for the whole people. Today we are proposing to do precisely the same. By utilizing the taxes and savings and foreign aids and loans for productive investments, we are increasing the national income every year; we have at least to treble the per capita income if we are to achieve a modicum of general welfare in our country; and this must be attained within the next few years. This is an inspiring concept. But how does it become realized? Our concepts and plans are grand and beautiful. Modern India, in her plans and programmes for the economic and social amelioration of her vast population, has made a great contribution to contemporary world thought. We have, however, to see that our concepts and plans are fully implemented; we have to capture a new will, a fresh determination and dedication; this is what the nation expects of all its citizens today—a tremendous will and determination that in our lifetime we shall see India truly free, not merely externally, which we achieved in 1947, but also internally, the freedom from poverty, ignorance, and social injustice. Every school child in India must be taught to understand this idea and make this resolve. Every child born in India should have all the opportunities to rise to its full stature; then only will our society achieve health and vigour. That is the ideal and aim for the realization of which you and I and millions of others are summoned to participate. It is a life's dedication; and it was this dedication that Swami Vivekananda expected from the educated youths of our country.

26. *Nation-building through Man-making*

When you read Swami Vivekananda's lectures and writings, gathered in eight volumes, you get an experience of a new dimension of existence, meaningful and purposive, a new spiritual awareness, where religion, socio-political action, and daily life become blended in a character at once energetic and compassionate, visionary and practical. Man's concern for God and man, for God *in* man, is the central theme of this literature. The Swami would have each one of you realize the glory of being a man. He is essentially a teacher of man-

making. Says he in 'My Plan of Campaign' (*Complete Works*, Vol. III, Ninth Edition, p. 224) :

It is a man-making religion that we want. It is man-making theories that we want. It is man-making education allround that we want. And here is the test of truth—anything that makes you weak physically, intellectually, and spiritually, reject as poison; there is no life in it; it cannot be true. Truth is strengthening. Truth is purity, Truth is all-knowledge.

I hope you will have occasion to acquaint yourself with the inspiring and noble literature of Swami Vivekananda, who was in every sense of the term a nation-builder, the foremost architect of our national destiny. What wonderful ideas and visions he has bequeathed to us! What energy and power he has breathed into our age-old society! In his first lecture in India on his return from his four years' glorious work in the West, he communicated his vision of an awakened India in a language and style at once inspiring and convincing. The nation was largely asleep at the time when he spoke, in January 1897, at Ramnad, at the southern extremity of India. Says he in his "Reply to the Address at Ramnad" (*ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 145-46) :

The longest night seems to be passing away; the sorest troubles seem to be coming to an end at last; the seeming corpse appears to be awaking and a voice is coming to us—away back where history and even tradition fails to peep into the gloom of the past, coming down from there, reflected as it were from peak to peak of the infinite Himalaya of knowledge, and of love, and of work, India, this motherland of ours— a voice is coming unto us, gentle, firm, and yet unmistakable in its utterances, and is gaining volume as days pass by, and behold, the sleeper is awakening! Like a breeze from the Himalayas, it is bringing life into the almost dead bones and muscles, the lethargy is passing away, and only the blind cannot see, or the perverted will not see, that she is awakening, this motherland of ours, from her deep long sleep. None can resist her any more; never is she going to sleep any more; no outside powers can hold her back any more; for the infinite giant is rising to her feet.

27. *Vivekananda Literature : A Mine of Strength*

What beautiful language and sentiments! And this in 1897, when the country lay under abject slavery. Even then, this prophet had the vision of the sure awakening of this leviathan of our great country. Ever since he uttered those words, our nation has been experiencing a steady accession of awareness and strength, which culminated in its emancipation from centuries-old political subjection in 1947, in the political integration of the country, the framing of its republican constitution, and the inauguration of its economic and social development programmes. The five-year plans embody this national purpose and resolve. Swami Vivekananda spoke of nation building in its most comprehensive terms; but he based it on man-making.

Discussing the effect of this and other speeches delivered by the Swami from Colombo through Madras and Calcutta and Lahore to Almora, Romain Rolland writes in his *Life of Vivekananda* (pp. 124-25) :

Did the dead arise ? Did India, thrilling to the sound of his words, reply to the hope of her herald? Was her noisy enthusiasm translated into deeds?... The Master's rough scourge made her turn for the first time in her sleep, and for the first time the heroic trumpet sounded in the midst of her dream the Forward March of India, conscious of her God. She never forgot it. From that day the awakening of the torpid colossus began. If the generation that followed saw, three years after Vivekananda's death, the revolt of Bengal, the prelude to the great movement of Tilak and Gandhi, if India today has definitely taken part in the collective action of organized masses, it is due to the initial shock, to the mighty

“Lazarus, come forth!”

of the Message from Madras.

If you read two of his important books, *Lectures from Colombo to Almora* and *Letters*, you will experience for yourself the power and charm of this man-making and nation building message, and your next day's life and work will appear to you in an entirely new light. About his books in general and

his *Lectures from Colombo to Almora* in particular, Romain Rolland writes in his *Life of Vivekananda* (p. 162) :

His words are great music, phrases in the style of Beethoven, stirring rhythms like the march of Handel choruses. I cannot touch these sayings of his, scattered as they are through the pages of books thirty years' distance, without receiving a thrill through my body like an electric shock. And what shocks, what transports must have been produced when in burning words they issued from the lips of the hero!

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, speaking about Sri Ramakrishna and Swami Vivekananda at the celebrations of the 114th birthday of Sri Ramakrishna at the Delhi Ramakrishna Mission in March 1949, said (Jawaharlal Nehru, *Sri Ramakrishna and Swami Vivekananda*, Advaita Ashrama, Calcutta 14, pp. 4-6):

I do not know how many of the younger generation read the speeches and the writings of Swami Vivekananda. But I can tell you that many of my generation were very powerfully influenced by him and I think that it would do a great deal of good to the present generation if they also went through Swami Vivekananda's writings and speeches and they would 'earn much from them

If you read Swami Vivekananda's writings and speeches, the curious thing you will find is that they are not old. It was told 56 years ago, and they are fresh today, because what he wrote or spoke about dealt with certain fundamental matters and aspects of our problems or the world's problems. Therefore they do not become old. They are fresh even though you read them now

So what Swamiji has written and said is of interest and must interest us and is likely to influence us for a long time to come. He was no politician in the ordinary sense of the word and yet he was, I think, one of the great founders—if you like, you may use any other word—of the national modern movement of India, and a great number of people who took more or less an active part in that movement in a later date drew their inspiration from Swami Vivekananda.

Directly or indirectly, he has powerfully influenced the India of today. And I think that our younger generation will take advantage of this fountain of wisdom, of spirit and fire, that flows through Swami Vivekananda.

In his *The Discovery of India* (p. 400), Jawaharlal Nehru writes:

Rooted in the past, and full of pride in India's heritage, Vivekananda was yet modern in his approach to life's problems, and was a kind of bridge between the past of India and her present.

I very much wish that every member constituting the Government and administration of the Indian Union and the States experiences this impact of Vivekananda's literature on his or her personality. He has left us a rich legacy of thought and inspiration which will enable us to capture energy and joy and zest in and through our life and work.

Vivekananda's message has both national and international significance. He himself was intensely Indian and yet international in outlook and sympathy. His birth centenary falls in January 1963. It is a great event for India and for the rest of the world. So far as the world is concerned, he was the first bridge-builder between India and the modern West. America will ever cherish him as the greatest messenger from eternal India. The message of India's hoary culture, its rational philosophy of Vedānta with its comprehensive and practical spirituality reached America in a powerful way through him. England and the rest of Europe also bear the impress of his thought and message in various degrees of intensity. That impact is a continuing impact and is effected gently and silently, in tune with India's historic experience. And as far as we, the people of India, are concerned, irrespective of creed or caste, he belongs to us and we belong to him; every breath he took pulsed with the thought of the good of India, the happiness of India.

Writes Sister Nivedita on this subject in her great study of the Swami, *The Master As I Saw Him* (pp. 49-50):

There was one thing, however, deep in the Master's nature,

that he himself never knew how to adjust. This was his love of his country and his resentment of her suffering. Throughout those years in which I saw him almost daily, the thought of India was to him like the air he breathed. True, he was a worker at foundations. He never used the word "nationality", nor proclaimed an era of "nation-making". "Man making", he said, was his own task. But he was born a lover, and the queen of his adoration was his motherland. Like some delicately-poised bell, thrilled and vibrated by every sound that falls upon it, was his heart to all that concerned her. Not a sob was heard within her shores that did not find in him a responsive echo. There was no cry of fear, no tremor of weakness, no shrinking from mortification, that he had not known and understood. He was hard on her sins, unsparing of her want of worldly wisdom, but only because he felt these faults to be his own. And none, on the contrary, was ever so possessed by the vision of her greatness.

28. *Vivekananda Birth Centenary*

The centenary of such a teacher and leader has a special meaning and significance for our people. Already, the Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs is extending financial help to the Ramakrishna Mission to bring out the eight volumes of the *Complete Works* of the Swami in the various languages of India, in Hindi, Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi, Telugu, Kannada, Tamil, and Malayalam, and of a volume of selections each in Assamese, Oriya, and Punjabi. Steps are being taken to organize the centenary celebrations on a nationwide scale and also in various countries outside India. A volume of selections from Swami Vivekananda is expected to be published each in Russian, Polish, and Czech languages by the respective governments. The various ministries and departments of the Government of India like the Posts and Telegraphs, All India Radio, Community Projects, and Social Welfare are also planning their respective contributions to the centenary celebrations, which will be spread over a year, January 1963 to January 1964. It will provide an occasion for the nation

to refresh itself, to deepen its faith, and brighten its hopes and resolves.

29. Conclusion

I am glad to be with you this morning in this training School. You are trained here in the techniques and methods of administrative work so that there may be a better and quicker disposal of government work. This training is very necessary, but it is not enough. There is need also to capture a mood of earnestness and dedication, a new philosophy of work, and a keen awareness of its social and human objectives. It is this that helps to galvanize all secretariat procedures, in fact, all our life and work. The Indian man and woman must utilize the new *milieu* of political freedom and social opportunities to initiate a sustained inner struggle to achieve true human excellence and realize the glory and worth of human existence. My best wishes to you all! I hope that each of you will constantly bear in mind that character-efficiency and technical efficiency are inseparable and that on your honest, efficient, and dedicated work will depend the future of your beloved motherland as much as your own life fulfilment.

Let me conclude with an illuminating passage which conveys to us the answers given by Swami Vivekananda over sixty years ago to questions put by a journalist bearing on the subject of national efficiency ('Interviews', *Complete Works*, Vol. V, Seventh Edition, pp. 226-27):

Then what you really desire is national efficiency?

Certainly. Can you adduce any reason why India should lie in the ebbtide of the Aryan nations? Is she inferior in intellect? Is she inferior in dexterity? Can you look at her art, at her mathematics, at her philosophy, and answer "yes"? All that is needed is that she should de-hypnotize herself and wake up from her age-long sleep to take her true rank in the hierarchy of nations.

But India has always had her deep inner life. Are you not afraid, Swamiji, that, in attempting to make her active, you may take from her her one great treasure?

Not at all. The history of the past has gone to develop the inner life of India and the activity, *i.e.*, the outer life, of the West. Hitherto these have been divergent. The time has now come for them to unite. Ramakrishna Paramahansa was alive to the depths of being, yet on the outer plane who was more active? This is the secret. Let your life be as deep as the ocean; but let it also be as wide as the sky.

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA AND OUR POLICE FORCE

1. Introductory

THIS year India is celebrating, with the rest of the world, the first birth centenary of Swami Vivekananda. This great teacher of modern India spanned East and West with his lofty character and spiritual vision. His has also been the most important single contribution to the making of a new India. He awakened her from her deep long sleep and made her strive to achieve a healthy body-politic for herself based on the democratic values of freedom, equality, and the sacredness of the human personality. As expressed by our Prime Minister Shri Jawaharlal Nehru (*Ramakrishna and Vivekananda*, pp. 6-7):

Vivekananda was no politician in the ordinary sense of the word and yet he was, I think, one of the great founders—if you like, you may use any other word—of the national movement in India, and the great number of people who took more or less an active part in that movement in a later date drew their inspiration from Swami Vivekananda. Directly or indirectly, he has powerfully influenced the India of today. And I think our younger generation will take advantage of this fountain of wisdom and of the fire that flows through Swami Vivekananda.

Referring to the contemporary relevance of Vivekananda's ideas, he says (*ibid.*, p. 5):

If you read Swami Vivekananda's writings and speeches, the curious thing you will find is that they are not old. It

was told 56 years ago and they are fresh today because what he wrote or spoke about dealt with certain fundamental matters and aspects of our problems or the world's problems.

2. *The Role of the Police in Our Free India*

India today is a sovereign democratic republic. After centuries of foreign subjection, her people have become citizens of a free state with the responsibility and privilege of building up the manhood and womanhood of her vast population. This freedom involves the need for a thorough change in the attitude and function of every section of our people—political leaders and administrators, men of the professions, industrialists and businessmen, peasants and workers, students and teachers, the police and the defence forces. This orientation in attitude and function has a special reference to the Indian police because of the intimate connexion of the personnel of the police forces with the day-to-day life of the common people.

The work of the police in a country under foreign subjection is quite different from that in a free state. Under foreign subjection, the policeman is as much a slave of the foreign master as the rest of the population. But in a free state he functions as a citizen among citizens, as a free man among free men and women. His being a policeman is secondary to his being a citizen. This is also true with every other social functionary, the administrator, the teacher, the engineer, etc., in every one of which it is the citizen, free and responsible, that shines through these various functions, which then assumes the spirit and temper of a dedicated service. This service becomes richer and more efficient when it has behind it the awareness of a free citizen.

3. *Renunciation and Service*

Swami Vivekananda, therefore, taught the people of India to inspire themselves with the national ideals of renunciation and service. Says he (*Complete Works*, Vol. V. Eighth Edition, p. 228) :

The national ideals of India are renunciation and service.

Intensify her in those channels and the rest will take care of itself.

The duties of the policeman, as the duties of the soldier, of the nurse, and of similar other functionaries, involve a good deal of renunciation of personal comfort and pleasure. He is the watch-dog of law and order. He is awake when others go to sleep. He is the symbol of law—*dharma*—which is ever awake, and which helps in the promotion of the happiness and welfare of society.

The Indian policeman today has the responsibility to rise to the full awareness of being the citizen of a free state and to educate the people also in this awareness and in the healthy behaviour patterns flowing therefrom. Man-making is the message of Swami Vivekananda. “‘Be and make’ shall be our motto’”, says he. He would like us to strive to be ourselves men first and then help others to be men similarly.

4. *Our Police and Our Kṣatriya Ideal*

Swami Vivekananda would like to see the Indian policeman rise to stature and awareness of a true Kṣatriya, with the energy and the capacity to protect and to foster his fellowmen. As in medicine the emphasis today has shifted to prevention of disease from cure of disease, so in social control the emphasis has shifted from mere punishment to education. In our dynamic democratic context, the policeman cannot remain a mere negative instrument of law and order preservation. India today is not a police state, but planning to be a welfare state. In this changed context, the policeman, like others, has to become a dynamic instrument of social education. He has to educate the people in the democratic virtues and graces of a law-abiding citizenship. He will be able to discharge this national responsibility only when he achieves for himself true education and culture and an incorruptible moral character.

5. *Conclusion*

Vivekananda would like to see in the Indian policeman that nobility and self-discipline by which even the suspected criminal

will receive from him the grace of the human touch worthy of the dignity of man. For 'each soul is potentially divine', says Swami Vivekananda. 'Every man has an inalienable focus of dignity within himself', says the modern democratic theory. On this concept is founded Swami Vivekananda's philosophy of religion and education. He defines religion 'as the manifestation of the divinity already in man'; and he defines education 'as the manifestation of the perfection already in man'. The study of Swami Vivekananda will help the Indian policeman to realize this divinity in himself and evoke the same in others as well.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION

1. *Introductory*

I AM happy to come to this Institute of Public Administration Mysore branch, and to spend a few minutes with you, the staff of the secretariat of the State of Mysore, to discuss problems that confront us today in India and to find some solutions to them by thinking together. As I entered this hall of the Vidhan Saudha, Bangalore, a few minutes ago, Mr. R. N. Vasudeva, your Chief Secretary and an old friend of mine, told me that this conference hall of the Vidhan Saudha was being used by you to do a little occasional thinking through meetings such as this. I was happy to hear this particular remark, because one of the things we seem to have banished, ever since we become free, is this habit of thinking, and thinking together. Since freedom came, we became more interested in talking and shouting than in thinking.

2. *Humanity: Nature's Sole Inter-thinking Species*

Man is described by modern biology not only as an inter-breeding species, the only such species in nature, but also as, what is more significant, an inter-thinking species, again the only such species in nature. Man thinks, and thinks together and, through such inter-penetration of minds, achieves great heights of culture and civilization. Our own ancient culture is a product of such profound thinking and inter-thinking. Modern Western culture, similarly, is the product of the same process.

But since we became independent, as I said before, we seem

to have gradually deprived ourselves of this great discipline of thought and its great energy resources. We became complacent. We had to be awakened to it by certain experiences, one of which was the Chinese invasion. A sense of complacency, with its offshoot of stagnation and a colossal lack of a sense of dedication and national vision, descended upon us within a few brief years of our becoming politically free.

Yet, in spite of this, our nation has registered some real progress in various fields during the past twenty-two years of our post-independence existence. There has always been, and there is still, a small minority of thinking people in India, at the Centre and in the States—in politics, administration, and public life—who are imbued with the spirit of patriotism and national dedication; and through their devoted endeavours, the country did achieve some progress.

3. *Politics versus Administration*

But the problems that confront us today are not problems to be tackled by a small minority of dedicated people. That creative minority we always had in India. But the problems are so complex, multifarious, and urgent that we need to have this spirit of vision and dedication more widely diffused in the various sections of our population, and more specially, in that branch of our population known as *the administrative branch*, both at the Centre and in the States. I have always felt that, ever since we became free, the greatest responsibility for national welfare rests upon our administration. Just as in the field of health, the doctor does the operation, but it is the nurse who, through her devoted and efficient care in the light of the doctor's directions, brings the patient back to health, so is it with respect to the health of the nation. Between the two branches of politics and administration, the former directs national affairs in a particular direction, leaving to the latter the achievement of that direction with energy and dedication. Hence the importance of all our training programmes for our administrators. Such training programmes are meant not only to impart and acquire the technical know-how of the subject, but also to impart and acquire a sense of national vision, a spirit of national dedication.

This is very very relevant today when we are engaged in transforming our erstwhile police state of the period of subjection into a welfare state of the era of freedom. *There is need for our administrators, from the highest to the most ordinary cadre, to be constantly impressed with the fact that their country is engaged today in a mighty task of peaceful social reconstruction and transformation of revolutionary dimensions, in response to the centuries-long suppressed urges and aspirations of our people.*

4. *The Place of the Administrator in the Nation*

This constitutes a dynamic external environment for the life of every Indian citizen today. It calls for a corresponding dynamism within our personality—in our attitudes, outlooks, and behaviour patterns. Unfortunately, many in our administration have not achieved this inner change. They still function as static centres in their dynamic national environment. This is true of millions of our educated citizens as well. That is the tragedy of our nation today.

I have had occasions to discuss with our Planning Commission when it put out its First Five-Year Plan draft about twenty years ago, and later with our Central services trainees, first in Metcalfe House, New Delhi, and later in the National Academy of Administration, Mussoorie, that a change in attitude of the administrators is absolutely essential if our nation is to change over from a police state to a welfare state. I then wrote an article for the *Metcalfe House Journal* of the Indian Administrative Service entitled '*The Administrator in a Welfare State.*' This and a later lecture on '*The Training of our Administrators*' at the Central Secretariat Training School, New Delhi, are now available in a booklet titled '*The Administrator in a Welfare State*', published by the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Calcutta 29.

This change in attitude is necessitated by one important factor, namely, political freedom. When India was under the British rule, till 1947, the entire administration was a tool in the hands of a foreign power to perpetuate itself in this country. As soon as the British left and India became free, the administration in India became a tool in the hands of the free people of

India to enhance the dignity and welfare of men and women in the nation. That change makes, or ought to make, a world of difference. It is that world of difference, the difference between subjection and freedom, that I find missing from the awareness and behaviour of the vast majority of members of the administrative apparatus today.

The fundamental impact of the change from subjection to freedom on the administrator is that the primary focus of his personality is now *in his being the citizen of a free country*, and only secondarily *in his being a job-holder or a social functionary*. We are all primarily citizens of free India and only secondarily administrators or other social functionaries. This change in outlook, this change arising from the recognition of the context of freedom in which we live and work, ought to make a world of difference in the handling of one's job as an administrator. As a citizen, he becomes an insider, not an outsider; he is involved in the work of the nation and for the nation. He is concerned with the happiness and welfare of his people. This idea of one being not an outsider but an insider is a tremendous force, making for a sense of responsibility and effectiveness of personality.

But it is sad to note that millions of people in India have not been able to grasp this fact and evolve this fusion of freedom and responsibility in their personalities. They have failed to grasp that they are of the nation and not only *in* the nation. While sitting in the chair of the administrator in an office, one becomes the focal point of the mounting hopes and aspirations of the nation and of the possibility of free India, satisfying those aspirations. The administrator is thus a focal point of the two great forces of national freedom and national responsibility; and when he or she realises this, he or she ceases to be a mere *static individual* but becomes a *dynamic personality*. If this change had come in a big way over the personnel in the administration from top to bottom, and generally over all else also in the nation, our economic and social progress would have been more impressive and revolutionary.

5. Athens and the Ecstasy of Freedom

We learn from history that when a people achieved political freedom after foreign subjection, they often experienced a sense

of exuberance, which found expression in an outburst of creative adventure. One such historical episode has a great lesson for us today. Bertrand Russell, in his *History of Western Philosophy*, refers to the tremendous impact of political freedom on the ancient Athenian state in the wake of its victory over its Persian invaders. For two decades Athens was under the threat and shadow of the Persian Empire. That Empire destroyed part of the city and constantly harassed the free people of Athens. But, by their patriotism, dedication, courage, and sacrifice, they defeated the mighty Persians on sea and land and achieved political freedom and security. This glorious victory had an ecstatic impact on the national mind, an ecstasy which found expression in a tremendous outburst of creative activity in Athens during the succeeding fifty years and which gave to the world the great classical Greek culture which has powerfully influenced all Western culture thereafter. The ecstasy of freedom was the stimulus to an outburst of creative activity in many fields of human culture on the part of a small state comprising hardly two hundred and thirty thousand citizens; and that state wrote an immortal chapter in human history in a brief span of fifty years, exemplifying the dictum of the *Mahābhārata* in its exhortation of a queen mother to her princely son: *Muhūrtaṁ jvalitaṁ śreyo, na tu dhūmāyitaṁ ciraṁ*—‘It is better to flame forth for an instant than to be smouldering for ages’.

This is an episode which will do much good to us today if we ponder over it and assimilate its implications. As far as India is concerned, we have achieved our freedom not after ten, twenty, or thirty years of political subjection and humiliation, as in the case of the Greeks, but after centuries of foreign rule. We have been thwarted in our aspirations for centuries together. But thanks to the teachings, leadership, sacrifices, and dedications of a few generations of great patriots and thinkers in the last and this century, our nation became free on 15 August 1947 and adopted a sovereign democratic republican constitution for itself in 1950.

6. *Why Our Ecstasy was Short-lived*

Any Indian student of his or her national history who reads this story cannot remain a mere onlooker of events, but

will become involved in the fortunes of his nation thereafter; unless, of course, our long centuries of servitude have blasted away our appreciation of freedom and its challenges; and unless our education has failed to make for *assimilation of ideas* in place of mere *gathering of information*. It looks as if such a blasting has taken place; it is also evident that our education had no relation to national realities.

How ineffective has been our education will be evident when we compare it with Vivekananda's educational ideas given to the nation at the end of the last century. Said he (*Vivekananda: His Call to the Nation*, pp. 49-50):

What is education? Is it book learning? No. Is it diverse knowledge? Not even that. The training by which the current and expression of will are brought under control and become fruitful is called education.

The education which does not help the common mass of people to equip themselves for the struggle for life, which does not bring out strength of character, a spirit of philanthropy, and the courage of a lion—is it worth the name? We want that education by which character is formed, strength of mind is increased, the intellect is expanded, and by which one can stand on one's own feet.

Accordingly, our joy of freedom turned out to be a temporary emotional experience. Many of us were eager that the Britisher should go. Many of our people were looking forward to an era of freedom. But when freedom actually came, the spiritual quality of that emotion and its intensity soon evaporated, and millions of our intelligentsia quietly settled down to seek and enjoy personal profit, power, and pleasure. After a very brief spell of post-independence national enthusiasm, a 'honeymoon' spirit set in, and the sense of national urgency, striving, and responsibility vanished. We soon settled down to *squeeze* the fruit of freedom each one unto himself and herself, and silently adopted the motto of 'each man unto himself and the devil take the hindmost.'

A story told by Swami Vivekananda well illustrates this post-independence attitude and behaviour of many of us in India:

A certain king had great faith in his courtiers. The Prime

Minister of the king told him not to put so much trust in his courtiers, for they were, after all, courtiers, self-seeking and given to flattery. The king was not convinced. The Prime Minister promised to prove his point. With the permission of the king he announced a festival in the royal palace which required every courtier to bring a jug of milk early morning before sunrise and pour it into a container kept behind a curtain. The morning came and the courtiers came one by one and poured their quota into the container and left. The Prime Minister then took the king to the enclosure to inspect the container. And both were surprised, the king more than the Prime Minister, to find the container filled with water with not a drop of milk in it. When questioned by the king, each courtier said that since all the other courtiers would be pouring their quota of milk, he thought his own jug of water would be too insignificant to be detected.

Similarly, every person and every group in the nation thought that since other persons and groups would be working for the nation patriotically, a bit of self-aggrandizement on his or its part would not matter, would not be detected.

This is all recent history. What is this due to? There is obviously something wrong in our mental make-up that prevents us from experiencing sustained national enthusiasm and patriotic endeavour. It is this weakness in our mental constitution that we have to tackle today. Unless we tackle it, we shall continue to wobble all through our life and history. India has a long history. It has seen history when the ancient Romans and Greeks were not there; and it is seeing history when the modern Americans and Russians are there today. This impressive continuity of India is a unique aspect of world history. In fact, even the one hundred and ninety year-long British subjection appears like a brief dream in our long history. There is an interesting story which helps to bring into focus this brief British period of our history in the context of our five-thousand-year-long history. After we became free in 1947, there was an interesting account in one of our newspapers of an interview which one of its correspondents had with an old man living in a village a few miles outside the city of Calcutta. Accosting the aged villager, the correspondent asked him in the understandable pride of a conveyor

of an important piece of information: 'My dear old friend, haven't you heard the great news?' 'What is that?' asked the old villager. 'The Britishers have left; we are now independent', said the correspondent with some excitement. The old man just looked up and asked quietly: 'But when did they come?'

7. Our New Democratic State : Its Historic Uniqueness

There you have the impact of the age-old history of India. Against that impressive time background, the one hundred and ninety years of British rule looks like a brief dream. In 1947 that brief dream ended and the nation resumed its march. But it has now new problems to face, new obstacles to overcome, and also new opportunities for self-expression, undreamt of in the past. For the state we established in 1950 has a very special quality which no state in our long history has ever had. All the states we had in the past depended upon a king, an emperor, or a military conqueror, native or foreign. Not one of them was founded on the strength of the political awareness and consent of the people. But now, for the first time in our five-thousand-year history, we have founded a state in India drawing its sustenance from 'We, the people of India', as the preamble to our constitution states. It is a state deriving its strength and sustenance, not from a king or an emperor or a military conqueror, but from the millions and millions of the people of India, and seeking to give that strength and sustenance back to them in an enhanced form. This is the nature and scope of our sovereign democratic republic. It is a unique experiment, as I said, in our long history.

8. Three Lessons to Our Democratic Success

The success of this unique experiment depends on our people developing virtues and graces appropriate to this new venture, and unlearning those attitudes, habits, and ways which incapacitated us from establishing and maintaining a continuing political state in our country all these thousands of years. This is the challenge before us. How shall we go about meeting it?

The first lesson we have to learn today is to educate

ourselves to shed our feudal attitude and ways and assimilate the democratic outlook and behaviour. Democracy is not just a political arrangement only; it is more a social outlook and temper. Feudal minds cannot handle a democratic machinery successfully; only democratic minds can do that.

The second lesson we need to learn is to become an insider and not continue to remain an outsider with respect to our new state; to become involved in its promises and performances, its successes and failures.

The third lesson we have to learn—and this is the most difficult one for many of us in India—is to grow into a truly dynamic personality from the level of a static individual; to develop our family awareness into a national political awareness; it means, in short, the *grhastha* or the house-holder growing into the citizen; *man's biological individuality rising to the first stages of his spiritual personality*. I shall discuss this last in more detail a little later.

9. *The Ethical Content of Democratic Citizenship*

Citizenship of a democratic state involves growth of ethical awareness and human concern beyond the confines of one's biological family group. It betokens an expansion of personality beyond the texture of genetic relationships. This is what discloses the truth of the political concept of citizenship possessing an ethical content, investing it with a spiritual value. By the *grhastha* growing into the citizen, life registers an advance from the organic to the spiritual level. This is what twentieth-century biology refers to as *psycho-social evolution*. Evolution at the human stage ceases to be physical or organic, and becomes psycho-social; it becomes ethical and spiritual.

It is through such evolution that man grows into a new dimension, at once personal and impersonal, in which private morality becomes reinforced by public morality. Such citizens form the main source of strength and sustenance of a progressive socio-political order.

It was this development in a systematic form that we missed in India in the past. We can trace our current social problems to our long neglect of this aspect of human excellence. Public spirit, practical efficiency, a pervasive human concern, and resistance

to social injustice and oppression form a galaxy of dynamic and positive character traits which are the hall mark of a citizen. Man in India in recent centuries tended more to be a bundle of negative traits than an integrated character of positive virtues and graces. That explains why we remained static individuals and failed to become dynamic personalities.

When we now strive to grow into dynamic personalities and develop positive virtues and graces in our character, we shall ensure and witness the steady progress of our nation in all fields. Our national development is too slow compared not only to such developed countries like Japan and Germany, but also to the countries of our own development level such as Malaysia and some other Asian nations. It is about ninetieth in order in the list of the members of the United Nations, and about thirtieth among Asian Nations, in per capita gross national product!

10. *The Energy of Manliness*

The energy and practical efficiency of countries like Germany and Japan can be an eye-opener to us. I have been to these countries. It is amazing how these, shattered by the second World War, completely shattered, rebuilt themselves in two decades and have become industrially and commercially a challenge to the highly developed countries like USA and USSR. Today Japan stands foremost in the field of ship-building, replacing pre-war UK and post-war USA, and near foremost in steel production. Japan now builds about 20 million tonnage of shipping every year. How did they achieve these miracles of national recovery and reconstruction? They have a quality which Swami Vivekananda referred to in his speeches and writings as something which he wanted our people to acquire, namely, *manliness*. This represents a totality of positive attitudes based on faith in oneself and faith in fellow human beings, *and the heroic mood of facing life's problems instead of evading them or running away from them*. This is known as *śraddhā* in Sanskrit, faith in oneself and faith in the ultimate meaningfulness of the world. Swami Vivekananda exhorted our people to capture this *śraddhā* and emphasized again and again the need for resorting to a *man-making education and man-making religion*. We

have many religions in our country; and our country was partitioned into India and Pakistan on the basis of religion. It is good to remember in this connection what Swami Vivekananda said on the subject of such divisive religion. Writing from London to Sister Nivedita on 7 June 1896 he said:

Religions of the world have become lifeless mockeries. What the world wants is character. The world is in need of those whose life is one burning love, selfless. That love will make every word tell like thunderbolt.

What we need is an education and a religion that will give us character-efficiency, that will make us active, energetic, patriotic, and dedicated, that will help our people to respond to the human situation around them, a situation compounded of misery, oppression, and injustice for millions of our people for hundreds of years, on the one side, and mounting hopes and aspirations of our people for a good life, in the wake of our political freedom, on the other.

That is the dynamic context in which you and I and every new born child live and work today; it is the context in which every child of ours is to be educated and brought up. Unless we become fully cognizant of this situation, we shall not be able to bring the best out of ourselves for our own personal development and in the service of our state, in the service of the millions of our nation. What grinding poverty, backwardness, social injustice, oppression, have been heaped upon our people for centuries together! Due to these constant oppressions, our people have lost their individuality, self-respect, and initiative. Our new-won freedom must restore these to them. This very state of Mysore, this Karnataka region, how much suffering its common people have passed through! Contending armies of ambitious rulers marching across the land, decade after decade, making for poverty, social backwardness, and a spirit of despair and resignation. This has happened again and again. The continuous depredations of invaders and petty chieftains, first, foreign and, later, bred within by chaotic political conditions, made the peasant, the artisan, and the common people of Mysore and the rest of India develop a conditional reflex of the fear of the world around them and apathy as to their own lot in it. Continuous

thwarting created a conditioned reflex, first of fear, then of apathy, and finally of resignation.

But that dark period is now over for us. The nation is free; it is united under a democratic constitution. It is poised for a mighty adventure of, what Vivekananda over seventy years ago had called, *Man-making and nation-building*. But if we let this opportunity go and continue to think and act in terms of personal aggrandizement, petty jealousies, and small loyalties, we may as well jeopardize our new-won freedom and pawn our future. We have constantly to remember that you and I are free if India is free. If India goes down, where are you and where am I? This we sometimes forget, and all our national ailments of the last twenty-two years have come from our parochial attitudes and frenzied actions. This is absolutely irrelevant in the India of today. What is relevant is the cultivation of broad national attitudes and the spirit of service and the sense of national responsibility, which are essential hallmarks of a citizen in a free democracy.

The citizen has been defined in political philosophy as the free and responsible member of a free society. Freedom and responsibility constitute the two great values of a citizen. As citizens of free India, therefore, we are all involved in the problems and prospects of our country.

11. *The Power of Organization*

Our problems are staggering; they can be tackled and overcome only by our joining our separate wills together to form an organized whole. This is the meaning and significance of *organization*; and among organizations, the most significant one is the political state. As a people, we had been woefully lacking in this capacity for organization, whose basis is character, mutual trust, and team spirit. These are spiritual qualities. Exhorting our nation to develop this spiritual capacity, Vivekananda says, in his lecture on 'The Future of India' delivered in Madras in 1897 (*Complete Works*, Vol. III, pp. 299-300):

Why is it that organizations are so powerful? Do not say that organization is material. Why is it, to take a case in point, that forty millions of Englishmen rule three hundred

millions of people here? What is the psychological explanation? These forty millions put their wills together and that means infinite power and you three hundred millions have a will each separate from the other. *Therefore, to make a great future India, the whole secret lies in organization, accumulation of power, coordination of wills.*

...Being of one mind is the secret of society. And the more you go on fighting and quarrelling about all trivialities such as 'Dravidian' and 'Aryan', and the question of Brahmins and non-Brahmins and all that, the further you are off from that accumulation of energy and power which is going to make the future India. For, mark you, the future India depends entirely upon that. That is the secret—accumulation of will power, coordination, bringing them all, as it were, into one focus.

Here is our democratic state as the instrument of the collective will of its citizens. And the administration is the main instrument of action of the state. It is necessary to keep this instrument from becoming flabby and blunted. It is to be kept sharp and fit. That is the purpose of all administrative training programmes; it *ought to be* their aim and purpose. Administrative efficiency is the product of four factors:

Mastery of the technical know-how; keen awareness of, and imaginative involvement in, the national urges and aspirations; a consequent sense of dedication; and capacity for hard work in a team spirit.

It is this type of efficiency that makes the administration capable of mobilising the vast human resources of the nation and getting the average citizen involved in its developmental programmes instead of resting content with handling the nation's material resources only.

12. *Men versus Money*

Herein lies the weakness of free India's politics and administration. We have often tended to put the cart before the horse. We have been enthusiastic more about voting the crores for the plans than for enthusing the people to work out the plan

men. This has been our national weakness. Even in our marriages, we have been accustomed more often to marry the dowry and not the girl. Swami Vivekananda drew the nation's attention powerfully to this, our national weakness, in his lectures and letters. His voice tells us today that man is primary and money is secondary. It is man that makes money do wonders. With efficient, dedicated men and women behind its money, the nation can produce ten crores out of one. That is a great lesson that history teaches us again and again. Nations with limited material resources have achieved great economic and social progress. There we find demonstrated the primacy of man over money. In the same lecture on 'The Future of India' referred to earlier, Swami Vivekananda said, referring to his plan for nation building in India (*ibid.*, p. 303):

That is my plan. It may appear gigantic, but it is much needed. You may ask, where is the money? Money is not needed. Money is nothing . . . Money and everything else I want must come, because they are my slaves, and not I theirs . . . Must—that is the word. Where are the men? That is the question.

13. *The Tyranny of the Triple 'P's*

The human resources in India, distributed in our sprawling administrative apparatus in the Centre and in the States and down to the village level, need to be developed into a powerful agency for energising the rest of the human resources of the nation, with a view to achieving allround national development. That comes only from the injection of the motivation of national dedication and service into that apparatus. The word 'service' is used in India often in the most static sense, often euphemistically. We have any number of 'services' inherited from the British regime. We have added many more 'services' since we became free, at the Union and State levels. These are often 'services' merely in the literal sense of term. That is a necessary aspect but not a sufficient aspect. They need to be 'services' not in letter only but in spirit also. Undue stress on career and salary, privileges and perquisites, in short, *on the triple 'p's of pay, prospect and promotion*, makes these ser-

on its arduous march to destiny. The eternal glory of the human spirit is not manifested in them. The salary one gets and the chair of power on which one sits and exercises authority do not express the true glory of man. These are variables; they come and go. But there is the manliness in man, the quality of the heroic in him, which rises above the selfish and the mercenary, and imparts richness and quality to the work one does and the life one lives. Herein is the expression in man of the Ātman through his body, of the immortal through the mortal. Such men elevate and enrich the functions they perform in society through the elevation and richness of their own personality. The work they do in society bears the true mark of 'service' in spirit and in letter. Such 'service' is a spontaneous expression of their personality. They live and function in the constant mood and mode of 'what can I do for you?' and 'how can I serve you'?

14. The Philosophy of Service

We need to understand today the place of this philosophy of service in human society. From ancient times, man has been confronted with the problem of how to deal with his neighbour, with his fellow human beings. The problem of inter-human relationship is a continuing problem in human society. Man has found two broad answers to this question; one answer is to 'exploit' the other man for one's own advantage; and the other answer is to 'serve' the other man, so that the two can prosper together. These are the two answers. But, unfortunately, the second answer has not found any widespread response from the hearts of men and women. It is a bit difficult; it calls for farsight, whereas, the first is easy and natural, involving no stretching of sight. As an ego centred in the organic system, man is impelled to seek only his own organic satisfaction and organic survival. And he is driven to exploit others in search of these. If this is the true nature of man, if he is only an individuality confined to his organic system, and if he can aggrandize himself and get away with it, without caring for others, he is perfectly right in exploiting others and in resorting to it judiciously. This is raw worldliness.

We coolly exploit the misery of other people. When a

man in distress comes to us for a job, we most often take him in for the job, not on a wage or salary appropriate for the job, but on a wage or salary squeezed low out of his miserable state. This we do in the high-sounding name of worldly wisdom. But it is unethical exploitation; it is sheer injustice to the dignity of man.

And this has been the prevailing mood and temper of our society, in spite of the tall talk and profession of religion by our people. For, that religion, as practised, was nothing but a static piety; and our prevailing religious ideology was nothing but a 'piety-fringed worldliness'. This alone explains our social and political defeats and failures during the past few centuries, demonstrating the social truth that self-aggrandizement and social unconcern do not ultimately pay. Religion and politics and society must certainly be made of sterner stuff. They are the products of a dynamic spirituality endowed with farsight and foresight, and beyond the reach of static piety and self-seeking politics. In the absence of that spirituality, man in India indulged in mutual exploitation of every conceivable kind; the strong and the powerful exploiting the weak and the helpless; the learned exploiting the ignorant; man exploiting woman; and woman also, strangely enough, exploiting other women.

The result of this easy-going policy of exploitation over the centuries has been the stunting of the human personality in India and making it ineffective in history. We are now learning to unlearn this first answer and begin to experiment with the second answer, namely, service. This is the new philosophy of human excellence that stands as sponsor to the mighty modern renaissance in India.

This new philosophy seeks to lift man out of that stunted ineffective state and put him on the road to growth, expansion, creativity, and fulfilment. And *renunciation* and *service*, *tyāga* and *sevā*, are the twin watchwords of this philosophy. It is renunciation of the puny ego centred in the organic system, and manifestation of the Ātman, the infinite Self which is the self of all; and service is the royal channel of that manifestation.

This is the ideology that will restore man to his dignity and strength, and integrate man to man to form the continued guarantee of the freedom of the individual and the unity and

progress of the nation. This is true *nation-building through man-making*, in the words of Vivekananda. In passionate words, uttered in the course of a letter from Chicago to the Dewan of Junagadh on 20 June 1894, Swami Vivekananda says:

The whole defect is here: The real nation who live in cottages have forgotten their manhood, their individuality. Trodden under the foot of the Hindu, Mussalman, or Christian, they have come to think that they are born to be trodden under the foot of everybody who has money enough in his pocket. They are to be given back their lost individuality.

15. *Need for Imaginative Sympathy*

Here is tremendous work for our administrators and our other patriots. *It is a work for patriots, not for mere job-hunters; for seekers of dynamic spirituality, and not of static piety-fringed worldliness; for men and women endowed with the spirit of service, and not for puny self-centred careerists.*

I have often spoken on this subject to our university students and administrators in various parts of India when I used to point out the need for a particular quality to be developed by our administrators today in their character and outlook. This is, in the phrase I have coined for it, *a capacity for imaginative sympathy or abstract sympathy*. What do I mean by this term? When we come across a poor man or a suffering man in the street, most of us will react with a measure of sympathy and compassion. We have that goodness in us. But that is only elementary ethical sense. It is not enough to make a citizen or an administrator in our free democratic state today. For that reaction to suffering ends up with the tossing of a coin; it does not ask, why this suffering? It does not have the impulse to trace that suffering to its roots and uproot it by effective measures through joining knowledge to social will and purpose, and joining will to will in collective social action. It is entirely a personal reaction to a personal experience.

But it is not everyday that an administrator or a citizen comes across human need or suffering in a concrete personal experience. And yet, there is immense privation and suffering

in our society; and our administration is meant to be the dedicated instrument of our constitution and our state to put an end to this centuries-long condition of our people. How is this to be achieved? The answer is: by the administrator developing the *unique capacity for abstract sympathy*. Most of the administrators sit and function in the rooms of the secretariats, far away from the actual scenes of pulsating human life, of which they cannot have *concrete* personal experience. And yet the efficiency and effectiveness of the administration depend on the administrators becoming involved in the sufferings and joys, hopes and aspirations, of the nation's millions. This is possible only if the administrators in our secretariats develop a capacity for *abstract sympathy*, a capacity for *imaginative sympathy*.

It is the absence of this quality that converts an administration into a mere bureaucracy, sometimes into a soulless bureaucracy. This was the complaint and criticism often levelled by our national movement against the British administration in India. Unfortunately, our post-independence administration also continues to be the target of such attacks from our free citizens. And our administration in the Centre and the States needs to take note of this criticism and set about to correct this deficiency. This is done by our administrators developing *this capacity for imaginative sympathy* and living and working under *a constant awareness that their primary personality is that of a free and responsible citizen of free India*, deeply involved in the developmental processes of their country and called to serve the nation in a particular capacity. This is how the government can be made responsive to the people's urges and aspirations. This is how the otherwise slow-moving government machinery can be made fast-moving. Indian and foreign observers have often criticised the slowness of our bureaucratic machinery and its incapacity to respond to social urges. The secretariat files do not have any motive power; they move slow or fast according to the slowness or energy, respectively, of the officers sitting on the secretariat chair. As a mere bureaucrat, he cannot escape being slow, as he is only concerned with his job as a personal career and is incapable, consequently, of experiencing this *imaginative sympathy* with the social urges conveyed through the files in front, and of getting involved in the dynamic social processes of his nation. But as soon as he becomes capable of these two

experiences, he ceases to be a *static individual* and gets transformed into a *dynamic personality*, the energies proceeding from this making, in turn, for the faster movement of the files, the quicker tempo of the administration, and higher and higher rate of economic growth and social development. This is also the index of the spiritual growth of the administrator from the *grhastha* to the citizen.

16. *Orderly Revolution*

This is the type of human growth that we need in India today in her administrators, politicians, intellectuals, and citizens before we can, and with a view to equipping us to, tackle successfully our mounting problems of economic and social growth and development. We must realise that millions in our country are poor and millions of them, for example, in South Bihar, still subsist on mohua flowers. Every one of us has to make our life and work a pledge that such a state of things will be ended soon.

We often hear some people talk of revolution. *I want all people in India today to demand and work for a revolution.* For that is the truth about our country today. It has been trying for over a century to achieve revolutionary progress in orderly way. It is a unique type of revolution, a revolution through steady evolution; the effecting of revolutionary social changes peacefully through social education and legislative action—the democratic way of revolution.

In his famous lecture on 'My Plan of Campaign' delivered in Madras in 1897, Swami Vivekananda had summoned our people to work for such a revolution (*Complete Works*, Vol. III, pp. 213-16, Ninth Edition):

I want root and branch reform . . . I do not believe in reform; I believe in growth . . . The tyranny of a minority is the worst tyranny that the world ever sees . . . A few men who think that certain things are evil will not make a nation move. Why does not the nation move? First educate the nation, create your legislative body, and then the law will be forthcoming. First create the power, the sanction from which the law will spring. The kings are gone. Where is

the new sanction, the new power of the people? Bring it up... You must go down to the basis of the thing, to the root of the matter. That is what I call radical reform. Put the fire there and let it burn upwards and make an Indian nation.

We have registered substantial socio-political gains already through our chosen democratic path. But challenges are still there; tremendous challenges still face us. Can we move fast enough and respond to these challenges, arising from the mounting urges of our long-suffering people for justice, equality, and economic and cultural opportunity?

If democracy, with its peaceful and orderly change, fails to generate dynamism, revolutionary violence will take over the control of these socio-political urges and overwhelm the nation. No nation manufactures and goes in for a violent revolution deliberately. All violent revolutions are products of social despair. They overwhelm a nation when its intelligentsia cease to become dynamic agents of social change and reduce themselves to slavery to the *status quo*, and become the tail-end of the privileged few at the top. *This is the sign of the bankruptcy of social wisdom on the part of the intelligentsia concerned and of its spiritual poverty.* This is the situation that generates despair of orderly social change, driving the social urges to burst out into a violent revolution. So far, our national wisdom has saved us from this contingency. But that wisdom has been flowing thin since our independence and it is no exaggeration to say that now, in this year of 1970, India is certainly at the crossroads of our national destiny, posing a serious challenge to our politics and administration. It is in this context that the problems of administrative efficiency in our newly established democracy become urgent. That efficiency is to be measured by only one test, namely, *its dynamic responsiveness to the national urges.* This is achieved only by the administrative personnel, representing a cross section of the national intelligentsia, *getting trained in imaginative sympathy and national dedication.* It is self-centredness and lack of concern for others that lead to corruption; and that evil is already afflicting man and society alike in India. We are not required to forego all concern for ourselves and become ascetics. We are only called upon to put this concern for ourselves in the context of a larger concern for others. This changes the whole

aspect of our life and work. This is called *enlightened self-interest* in political philosophy. It is self-interest, but with a touch of spiritual enlightenment, resulting in the recognition of mutuality, inter-dependence, and the spirit of service as the truth of all healthy social processes.

Even international relationships are being inspired by this philosophy of enlightened self-interest since the end of World War II. It finds expression in the active concern of the economically developed nations in the welfare of the less developed nations. But this philosophy needs to find more pervasive expression in the field of inter-human relationships within the nation itself, where service should be installed as the prime motivation in place of exploitation. *Parasparam bhāvayantaḥ śreyasḥ param avāpsyatha*—‘cherishing the good of each other, all shall achieve their highest welfare’, proclaims Śrī Kṛṣṇa in the Gītā.

17. *From a Victim of History to a Creator of History*

We have a religious tradition, whether we are Hindus, Muslims, Christians, or others. We have lived by this religious tradition. Some good has come to us from this tradition and some bad as well. But our religious traditions have become reduced to, what I had said earlier, a static piety, or piety-fringed worldliness. We do all the piciest acts of our religion, but they do not result in our spiritual growth, in the enhancement of our spiritual awareness. We continue to be steeped in worldliness with our petty attachments and hatreds and mutual exploitations and divisive loyalties. These have stood against our developing an integrated social order and evolving a progressive political state as the instrument of collective human welfare. This has resulted in our country becoming, for centuries together, *the victim of history*. Other nations created history. We became the victim of that history. Today, for the first time, we as a nation have the opportunity to become the *creator of history*. And that becomes possible only when we shed this static piety and adopt a dynamic spirituality as the essential message of religion. All religions seek to lift man from his trivial ego-centred individuality into an expansive God-centred personality, with concern for other beings as its ethical

by-product. The central message of all religions is this spiritual growth, this growth of man beyond his organic limitations, beyond the trivialities of his ego-centred individuality. This is what Sri Ramakrishna describes as the growth of the 'raw' ego, which delights in self-centredness and exploitation, into the 'ripe' ego, which delights in renunciation of the little self and service of others.

18. *Human Evolution as Spiritual Growth*

This beautiful concept of human growth and development, upheld by the religions of the world, finds strong endorsement today from the pronouncements of twentieth century biology as to the goal of evolution at the human stage. Twentieth century biology speaks of human evolution precisely in these ethical terms; it is psycho-social evolution in place of the organic evolution of the pre-human stage. This cerebral system of man is the finest organ that nature has evolved. Having evolved this organ, organic evolution has no further significance. We do not need nature to evolve new organs in us for our survival when, with the help of this finest organ, we can invent any new organs more efficient than what nature can give us through her long wasteful efforts. Therefore, biology tells us today that evolution has to be sought not at the organic level, not at the physical level, but at a level higher than both.

Biology terms such evolution as psycho-social evolution. It is a meaningful term and concept which brings biology close to the science of religion, to the science of the spiritual dimension of the human personality, and the know-how of its realization. Psycho-social evolution is evolution in which the human psyche, till now in thrall to the organic system, goes beyond its conditionings and limitations, in an indefinite expansion of love and sympathy and concern for other psyches in society. This is essentially moral and ethical evolution—an unlimited personality stirring in a limited organic individuality. This is what the science of religion calls the *spiritual growth* of man, or the expression of the spiritual dimension of the human personality. Vedānta proclaims that *this spirituality is the birth-right of every human being* and that all religions show the way to man how to acquire this spirituality and express it in life and action.

Vivekananda, therefore, defines religion as *the manifestation of the divinity already within man*. That profound dimension is there in you and in me, it is lying hidden, it is lying mixed up with our organic dimension. But man has—and he alone has, among all species—the requisite organic capacity to disengage the spiritual dimension from its organic tie-up, and manifest it freely in his life and character. That is religion as *lived experience*; and not as creed or dogma or conformity. And ethical awareness, human concern, and the mood and act of service, become by-products of this spiritual growth; they are a spill-over, into the world of society outside, of this spiritual expansion and enrichment within. This is the moral and ethical spontaneity and naturalness relevant to man, unlike the physical and organic spontaneity and naturalness relevant to all species in the pre-human stage of evolution.

19. *Renunciation and Service*

What we need today is this spiritual growth in our people, in small or big measure, and the increasing character-efficiency that it engenders. Men and women must evolve, by entering this road of their spiritual growth, and continue to march on, slow or fast. That is the royal road to life-fulfilment, individual and collective. That road, as defined for us by Vivekananda, is renunciation and service:

Renunciation and service are the twin ideals of India; intensify her in those channels, the rest will take care of itself.

It is renunciation of this trivial organic-centred ego and manifestation of our larger spiritual self that makes for one's life-expression in the mood and act of service and that gets nourished in turn by that mood and act of service. Intensify the nation in these channels and the rest will take care of itself, says Swami Vivekananda. These are great words conveying a profound truth. How much we need to capture that message in all of us today! Every citizen, every social functionary, needs to grasp this truth and endeavour to live it according to one's strength. The administrator must live this truth more intensely than the average citizen, because he is the repository of state

power. And that power is meant to be used for general welfare. This is not possible for a man who has not risen above his ego-centred individuality, who has not set his course on the road of psycho-social evolution and become spiritual. It is such evolution, such spiritual growth, resulting in the steady evolution of the value called *buddhi*, the fusion of enlightened reason, emotion, and will, as the *Gītā* calls it, that makes for character-efficiency, that makes man capable of wielding power to ensure general welfare. *This is the philosophy of man that should inspire all administration, all positions of social responsibility.* Herein we see human life rising to the *heroic* level, from the *vegetative* starting level of the pursuit of personal profit and pleasure. It is to nourish and sustain man at that heroic level that Śrī Kṛṣṇa taught the philosophy of Yoga, says Śaṅkara in his commentary on the fourth chapter of the *Gītā*, 'so that, thus strengthened, they may become capable to accomplish general human welfare.'

20. *Kālidāsa on the Welfare State*

Free India seeks to be a welfare state. There is one fine definition of a welfare state in our classical Sanskrit literature. It is given by Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvamśa*. Describing the greatness of King Raghu to whose dynasty Śrī Rāma belonged, Kālidāsa says;

*Prajānām eva bhūtyartham sa tābhyo balimagrahīt;
Sahasraguṇamutsraṣṭuḥ ādatte hi rasam raviḥ—*

It was only for the welfare of the people that he (King Raghu) took taxes from them, just like the sun, which takes moisture from the earth only to return it thousandfold in the form of beneficent rain.

That is a welfare state in which the state returns to the people hundred rupees for every rupee taken from them through taxation, direct and indirect. Our Fourth Five-Year Plan has allocated a target of twenty-five thousand crores of rupees for investment in development. In a true welfare state, that amount should rise to at least a hundred thousand crores in benefit when

it reaches the people. What makes this possible? Administrative efficiency, proceeding from the competence, social awareness, and character of the administrators.

This is the 'magic' wrought by that philosophy of *Yoga* expounded in the *Gītā: Yogaḥ karmasu kauśalam*—'yoga is efficiency, dexterity, in action.' It is a double efficiency, constituted of growing personality-efficiency within and productive work-efficiency without. That is the fruit of the dynamics of administration, the 'magic' of hundred-rupees-benefits coming out of ten-rupees-investment. Between that ten and that one hundred lies the 'magic' of the science of spirituality. Where this science is not in action, the administration becomes static and heavy, and produces only ten-rupee benefit for every hundred-rupee investment.

21. *Physical Sciences and the Sciences of Spirituality*

Some of our people, especially among our educated class, including our administrative personnel, run after all sorts of magic and miracles, puerile and sterile, in the name of cheap religion and *yoga*. In this age of the marvels of science, such magic and miracles appear infantile. What magic and miracles performed in the name of a cheap religion and *yoga*, which are secret and incommunicable, superstition-generating and weakening, can compare with the 'magic' performed by the physical sciences, verified and verifiable, open and communicable, whether in the field of curing of disease, increasing of food production, or putting a man or a vehicle on the moon and bringing both back to earth!

The only miracle that can match, and over-match, such miracles of physical science is the miracle of purity, love, compassion, character-efficiency and service—the miracles, as remarked by Gandhiji, of transmuting hatred into love and violence into non-violence, in collective human relationships—which are all the sweet fruits of man's spiritual growth. This is the product of religion as a science, verified and verifiable, open and communicable, unlike the miracles of that cheap religion, but like the truths of the physical sciences.

It will be the dawn of a great and glorious era in India when our people turn away from all cheap and flimsy, magical and

misty and secret, ideas of religion and turn to cultivate religion as the science of the spiritual growth of man, yielding strength of character, clarity of thought, and love and service, along with the cultivation of the various physical sciences and technology. *The junction of these two energy resources will alone ensure the fullest growth of man and the allround development of the nation.* Can we not dream of an India where there will be no poor people sleeping on the foot-paths or picking crumbs from the dust bins, and where man will be restored to his dignity and worth? What a beautiful national vision! And what possibilities are available today for its idealization! Why is it that thousands of us, working in various institutions of government and private agencies, do not become ecstatic over this idea? The trouble is that we have become complacent, static, self-centred. We need to initiate the thinking process, as I said in the beginning, which alone can stir the stagnant waters of our life and make it flow. Let me repeat that behind our great culture lies the energy of thought; behind modern Western culture, similarly, lies the energy of thought. We need to blend both these energies today and have them at the back of our actions in order to realize that vision. So, thinking and especially thinking together, as we are doing now, and a will oriented to service, are essential for progress. And what we need is progress, development, fulfilment. We need to galvanize the administration by introducing human and social motivations into it. It is this energy of proper ethical motivation that is sadly lacking in our administration. In the field of our administrative efficiency, *the one truth that is proclaimed by the twenty-two years of our post-independence history is that forty-nine per cent alone is contributed by the training programme constituent, waiting for the remaining fifty-one per cent to be contributed by its motivation constituent.* Since the latter has been tardy in coming, administrative efficiency has remained marginal. It is high time that we recognize the significance of this ratio and take steps to stimulate the motivation constituent.

22. *The Grhastha to Grow into the Citizen*

I have referred earlier to the truth of the need of the

grhastha to grow into the citizen. Freely translated, *grhastha* means the house-holder. The Hindu family, held together by the moral and spiritual bonds of mutual love and service, has functioned as a healthy unit of the Hindu society. And the *grhastha* is the presiding and integrating personality in that family unit. Our society has rendered a fine account, throughout history, of this social idea of the *grhastha*. But it did not keep pace with the changing times and, becoming more inward-looking than is healthy, it *increasingly overlooked the fact of its being only a unit in a larger social whole*. That social whole has been expanding in range and scope through the centuries, until today it has become a multi-religious, multi-lingual, multi-racial, and multi-what-not nation. Yet all the time that *grhastha* concept has remained stuck up in its original formulation. Much of the political failures of India in recent centuries have to be attributed to this fact. The excess of his inward-looking direction, dictated by an other-worldly piety, producing a merit with its other-worldly rewards, incapacitated the *grhastha* from evolving a stable political state which derives from a measure of his outward-looking energies and interests. Outward worldly interests meant for him only opportunities and activities to earn wealth for his little family circle. Such a policy led him eventually, not to a dynamic spirituality capable of synthesising the outer and inner aspects of life, such as is taught in the *Gītā*, but to that static piety, to that piety-fringed worldliness, where both piety and worldliness conspired to narrow his interests and reduce him to ineffectiveness. The Indian *grhastha* needs to be redeemed from this stagnation. The great *grhastha* ideal needs to be invested with a new dynamism. This is the contribution of the dynamic spirituality of the *Gītā*, of the comprehensive philosophy of the *practical Vedānta* of Swami Vivekananda.

With the touch of this philosophy, the *grhastha* idea undergoes a dynamic spiritual transformation. A family is essentially a biological group. What holds the members of this group together is the sense of genetic relationship. There are present, undoubtedly, the spiritual values of love and service; but these values are restricted and limited by that genetic relationship

than as spiritual values. It is only when these values find expression outside that biological *milieu* of the genetic family group, that they disclose their truly spiritual character.

This is ethical sense, the onset of which puts man on the fascinating journey of his spiritual expansion, development, and fulfilment. This is expressed by Sri Ramakrishna in one of his saying: 'I' and 'mine' is *māyā*; 'thou' and 'thine' is *dayā*. By this growth, the *grhastha*, while functioning in the limited *milieu* of his family, becomes also capable of responding to the wider social *milieu* outside, and developing a responsive and responsible political personality. And by so responding, he converts the family from the stagnation of *saṁsāra* or worldliness into a nursery of his spiritual education and growth, and his own body from the tomb of his soul into the venue, the *kurukṣetra*, of his spiritual evolution. This is the spiritual value of citizenship, with its twin constituents of the political and the ethical.

Political citizenship can be achieved by any individual by merely attaining the physical age prescribed by the constitution. We stand in a queue from birth and when we count our age as twenty-one, as at present, or even eighteen, as it may one day be, we automatically become citizens. But the ethical constituent demands that we become citizens only when we imbibe the value of *freedom* and *responsibility*. These values are spiritual and their onset in a person reveals that that person has started growing spiritually and that he or she has added *educational maturity* to his *physical maturity*.

And today the Hindu ideal of the grhastha must grow into the modern ideal of the citizen. With this expansion and growth of his personality, the *grhastha* will develop into a mighty centre of creative energy and character-efficiency, capable of working out a progressive social order reflecting the Vedāntic vision of human dignity and excellence.

23. *The Anatomy of Nepotism*

This is how man in India will rise from the tyranny of the genetic and the biological and the sensate into the freedom of the spiritual, which is his birth right and which he alone, among all species in nature, is organically fitted to strive for and realise.

The tyranny of the genetic over man in society is what lies behind social evils such as nepotism. Indian and foreign observers of the Indian scene have marked this as one of our more serious social evils, especially after independence. We have plenty of instances of persons holding political or social authority, appointed to select candidates for scholarships or jobs, selecting candidates who are less qualified but closer to them in genetic relationships, which some of them can detect even by smell! In all such instances, *we see the presence of the old genetically limited grahstha and miss the new spiritually grown citizen*. While disclosing the spiritual dwarfishness of the person concerned in authority, all nepotism also increases injustice in society and weakens the social fabric. Justice or *dharma* or ethical sense, is the cement that unites man to man, to form the integrated structure of a society. A mere aggregation to humanity does not make a society, just as a mere accumulation of bricks does not constitute a building. A polity is held together by the spiritual value of *dharma*, ethical sense. *Dharaṇāt dharma ityāhuḥ dharmo dhārayate prajāḥ*—‘*Dharma* is what holds together; *dharma* holds together people (in a society)’ says the *Mahābhārata*.

24. *The Genetic versus the Spiritual*

The biological and genetic bond can hold together a society at best upto the clan or tribe level; even at these levels, the more serious social strains and tensions need for their resolution the spiritual value of *dharma* or ethical sense. And modern biology rules out the possibility of pure genetic races obtaining in any civilised society today. The genetic bond becomes completely ineffective, therefore, for the integration of humanity in the large human aggregations of the national and multi-national states. The strength of these modern states proceed from their human integration; and that integration is essentially the product of the general political education of their populations in ethical sense and human concern. This makes for a certain social compactness, national self-discipline, and general effectiveness, within the nation and without. Their ethical sense may not have grown beyond that national level; some of them may have expressed themselves internationally in exploitation and aggregation. And that needs correction and education through the increasing

liberation of ethical and spiritual values. But that they have taken the first steps in ethical expansion, and in diffusing ethical awareness in other human beings, generally, is evident from the fact that they have released the spiritual resources in man to successfully solve their basic human problems of poverty and general backwardness. Individually, some few in India may have advanced far ahead spiritually. But, collectively, we as a nation are yet to master the first lessons of that ethical and spiritual education involved in the *grhastha* growing into the citizen and thus developing India's vast human resources.

25. *Dynamic Goodness*

This is the meaning of Vivekananda's stress on a *man-making education* and a *man-making religion*; and this also is the significance of his observation that, as followers of the *Gītā*, the Western nations are more advanced than we in India. *All political growth of man involves an expansion of ethical awareness in varying degrees, beyond the limited biological family group, and the manifestation of the spirit of service as its by-product.* The general absence of this spirit of service in India is evidence of our political and ethical illiteracy, in spite of our talking high philosophy and religion and politics. As a result, we have bundles of opinions and beliefs, which we never cared to develop into *lived convictions*. We have yet to realize that opinions and beliefs are sterile and that it is only when we develop some of them into lived convictions that we achieve the character-efficiency of manliness, with the power of impact on the social situation around us. *This is dynamic goodness* unlike the static ineffective goodness, what is called goody-goodyness which is such a prominent characteristic of most of our people. This, again, is the result of our people's putting the cart before the horse, in the field of religion. We resorted to the higher ideals of religion, consisting of the struggle for saintliness, before we had built the base level of religion, through the struggle to achieve manliness. Our goody-goodyness is the product of our *indigestion* of these higher ideals of religion; the capacity for that digestion can come to us only through the struggle for, and achievement of, manliness, of which the spirit and mood of service is the nursery and the fruit.

26. *The Mood and Mode of Service*

Barring a small minority, most of us in India have not captured the spirit and mood of service. In most of our offices and institutions, like banks, railway ticket offices, airlines offices, secretariat offices, etc., a citizen is treated by the person-in-charge, in mood and mode and words, more as an intruder than as one in need of help. He forgets that he is there, and is paid for, to help and serve a fellow-citizen. The contrast becomes glaring when we go to foreign countries, where you are greeted with a face of welcome and helpfulness and with the words: what can I do for you? how can I help you? In America, I have experienced this again and again; if you go to take a plane rather late, the person-in-charge at the air office counter will sympathise with you and hurry up your checking and other formalities and put you on the waiting van to the plane. In India, often, you may be scolded for coming late and left to stew in your own juice! In other countries, the person-in-charge responds to such situations by *imaginatively* realising that you had some difficulty on the way and are in need of his help. This is the normal pattern in other countries. When will it become a normal pattern in ours also? And when it becomes so, will it not disclose that spiritual growth of the Indian personality which we have been discussing?

27. *Charity: Enlightened versus Un-enlightened*

Such a spiritual growth will have a wholesome impact on all aspects of our inter-human relationship. Take, for example, charity, especially charity by our rich people. Again, barring some minority of our rich people who are truly enlightened in their charity, the vast majority do charity in the most un-enlightened way. It is more to earn a pious merit for oneself than to remove the suffering of the person in front; often, it is unwilling and forced charity, mostly given without grace, without understanding, and without freedom of the spirit, *as if one rich slave is tossing some coins to another poor slave*. I once addressed an assembly of industrialists and businessmen and took the occasion to tell them that we in India did not know the mood and mode of charity. Even in a welfare state, there will be

need for charity, a personal response to a social need. I narrated to them my experience in Rangoon. The Ramakrishna Mission was running one of the finest and most popular of hospitals in the whole of Burma in Rangoon for decades till it was nationalised, along with all other similar ones, a few years ago. We used to collect funds for the hospital from the Hindu, Burmese Buddhist, and European merchants of Rangoon. And we experienced a world of difference between the way of charity of the Hindu merchants and the Burmese Buddhist merchants. Of course, the Hindu merchants paid substantially; and after Burma's independence, when many Hindus left for India, the Burmese Buddhist merchants became the more substantial donors. But the difference between the two groups remained wide as to the method of giving charity. When you go to a Hindu merchant to collect the promised amount, you will be greeted often with the words: come tomorrow. This will rarely happen in the case of the Burmese Buddhist merchant. He makes you feel you are wanted and gives you the promised amount with a sense of devotion. They follow the Buddha's precept; they observe, better than the Hindu, the spirit of the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad's* exhortation on charity:

*Śraddhayā deyam; aśraddhayā adeyam; śriyā deyam;
hriyā deyam; bhiyā deyam; sanivīdā deyam—*

Give with *śraddhā*; give not without *śraddhā*; give with *Śrī* (with open hand); give with modesty; give with fear (that what you give may be too small for the purpose); give with understanding (of the purpose and social relevance of the charity).

What beautiful sentiments these are! And how much we have deviated from them by remaining content with a static piety and failing to strive for a dynamic spirituality! Our rich have to realise that spending is the dynamics of economics and that wise spending is more difficult and important than earning. And if some person or institution comes to one of them on behalf of a project of social service, he must consider it his privilege to have an opportunity to come across a healthy channel for the flow of his surplus wealth. If he has money to spare or if he has none, or even if he has paid his bit to some

other cause, he can always receive the charity-seeker with a welcome word of appreciation for his good work and wish him god-speed in that worthy field of human service, for which he himself cannot spare the time. This is the prevailing attitude of the rich in America where, as one American writer has put it, between the two exhortations of Jesus as to loving God with all one's heart and mind and soul, and loving one's neighbour as oneself, the American has wonderfully responded to the second, though not to the first, which he thinks beyond his understanding.

28. *The Gītā's Philosophy of Administration*

The philosophy of administration will vary according to the philosophy of the society and the state. It will be one type in a feudal set-up, another in a totalitarian one, and still another in a democratic one. The philosophy of democratic administration derives from the inalienable dignity and worth of the human personality and the active concern to foster the same. Its operative principle is that man is essentially educable and not vile, and that social change is, and can be, brought about in an orderly way and peacefully by breaking of wits and not by breaking of heads.

The *Gītā* gives us profound insight into such a philosophy and its relevance to all men of responsibility, into which category fall all our administrators. Philosophy is like a lamp; it illumines our way. A single person needs only a small lamp to light his way. But a large congregation will need a more powerful light to light its way. Similarly, an ordinary philosophy is enough to light the life-path of a private citizen. But a more-than-ordinary philosophy is necessary to light the path of life and work of a man of social responsibility. What is the nature and scope of this more-than-ordinary philosophy?

In his brief but masterly introduction to his commentary on the *Gītā*, Śaṅkarācārya conveys in two sentences the nature and scope of this philosophy:

The Vedānta is (an integrated philosophy of) a two-fold *dharma*, namely, *pravṛtti* or outward-directed action and *nivṛtti* or inward-directed meditation, which (together) form the means for the maintenance of the world on even keel;

for they are, verily, the means of the *abhyudaya*, social welfare, and *niḥśreyasa* spiritual growth and fulfilment, of all beings.

Philosophy has been defined as seeing life steadily and seeing it as a whole. Politics, economics, sociology, art, ethics, and religion view life in segments, and they thus form departments of the science of man. Similarly physics, astronomy, chemistry, and biology view nature in segments, and form departments of the science of physical nature. And philosophy or *brahmavidyā*, as understood in Vedānta, is the science of sciences, *sarvavidyā-pratiṣṭha*, as the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* expresses it, being the synthesis of the sciences of physical nature and the sciences of human nature. And the *Gītā* is the *yoga śāstra*, the science and technique of *yoga*, deriving from the *brahmavidyā*, as the colophon at the end of each of its chapters proclaims.

It is in the light of this rational and comprehensive philosophy that *Gītā* expounds its philosophy of administration. The touch of that philosophy transforms the administrator from a static individual into a dynamic personality; from a *creature* of history into a *creator* of history; from a subject or *prajā* into a sovereign or *rājā*.

We have a word in Sanskrit; it comes in the fourth chapter of the *Gītā*. That word is *rājarṣi*. For many of us, Hindus, this great word evokes all sorts of distorted meanings, magical and misty and uncanny. We shall have to remove all such distorted meanings from our minds; and then we shall find a wonderfully constructive and creative idea in it. Śaṅkarācārya defines this word *rājarṣi* as *rājānaḥ ca te ṛṣyaḥ ca*—‘they who are both *rajas* and *ṛsis* in one’. What does that mean? We have no *rājās* in the sense of kings or crowned heads today. Ours is a republican state. We have thus no *rājā* or *rājās* in the formal sense of the term, in the sense arising from the external accoutrements attached to the office of *rājā*. Who, then, is a *rājā* in the basic sense? Anyone on whom depends the happiness and welfare of thousands. That is the meaning of the word *rājā* in the Sanskrit tradition, *rājate*, *virājate*, ‘shines’—the one who shines in responsibility. The light in him is not in a bushel but on a candle stand, as remarked by Jesus, so that it can throw light allround, In this sense, even

the father and the mother at home are *rājās*. The administrator is a *rājā*. A minister is a *rājā*. An industrial magnate is a *rājā*; for, on them depend the happiness and welfare of thousands and thousands. Every citizen in a free republic is sovereign and free; in that, they are all *rājās* in a general sense; among them all, the holders of power and responsibility are *rājās* in a special sense. How do they handle their power and responsibility? What philosophy, what light, guides them? That is the most vital question.

If they are guided by the lamp of the ordinary philosophy to which the ordinary person resorts to light his path, they may more likely and more often use the power and position to aggrandize themselves at the cost of society. This is not intelligence, but only foxy cleverness. It does not express the *heroism of manliness*. But if they are to enhance the life and welfare of the people under their charge, and also light up paths to happiness and fulfilment, they will need to resort to the light of a more-than-ordinary light shed by a more-than-ordinary philosophy, which can lead them on the steep and rough path of ethical development and human concern, and generate the extraordinary energy of character-efficiency and dedication. This is the *sādhana* or struggle that makes one a *ṛṣi* or a sage; it is the *heroism of saintliness*.

The combination of a *rājā* and *ṛṣi* in an administrator, the synthesis of *manliness* and *saintliness*, this is what is desired by the *Gītā*. When one combines power and social responsibility with the strength arising from character, clear thinking, dedication, and practical efficiency, one effects in oneself this unique synthesis of the *rājārṣi* of the *Gītā*. So Kṛṣṇa says in the opening three verses of the *Gītā*:

I taught this immortal *yoga* to Vivaswān; he taught it to Manu who, in turn, taught it to Ikṣvāku. Coming down thus in a tradition, this *yoga* was known to the *rājārṣis*; in the course of long ages, this *yoga* was lost, O Arjuna. This same ancient *yoga*, this invaluable mystery, I am now imparting to you, finding in you a devotee and a friend.

29. *Yogaḥ Karmasu Kauśalam*

‘Why was this *yoga* lost in the course of ages?’ asks Śaṅkara

in his commentary and answers; 'Because it fell into the hands of physical and mental weaklings and of those without discipline of their sense organs'—*durbālan ajitendriyān prāpya*; and he adds that Kṛṣṇa taught it to such men of high responsibility 'in order to strengthen them and, endowed with which, they may work successfully to protect and cherish the people'.

When we became free, we instituted the Indian Administrative Service. The service, the I.A.S., adopted a phrase from the second chapter of the *Gītā* as its motto: *Yogaḥ karmasu kauśalam*—'Yoga is efficiency or dexterity in action'. That should be the philosophy not only of the I.A.S., but of every branch of the administration, of every person of responsibility. Do not associate anything magical or misty with this great philosophy of *yoga*. Kṛṣṇa did not want that Arjuna should sit in a cave or on the road-side and do some *prāṇāyāma* or the *yoga* postures. But such, and often something less than such, is, unfortunately, what the generality of Hindus understand by *yoga*. We have well-nigh destroyed this grand science of practical spirituality. We will have to disabuse our minds completely of all such notions, and approach the *Gītā* with a free and fresh mind, to understand its *yoga*. It is a lofty philosophy; it is strong meat for weak stomachs, as it is a teaching imparted by a vital and dynamic teacher to his vital and dynamic disciple.

30. *Tasmāt Yogī Bhavārjuna*

And Kṛṣṇa will be happy today that, after many many centuries, his philosophy is going to be courageously tested and verified by batches and batches of Free India's youth called to her service in various responsible positions. And Kṛṣṇa will today whisper to every such youth what he commanded Arjuna: *tasmāt yogī bhavārjuna*—'therefore, O Arjuna, be a *yogī*.' *Tasmāt* means 'therefore', i.e., if this philosophy is true and commends itself to your reason, be spiritual and work out the salvation of your nation, says Kṛṣṇa to us today. This *yoga* can be practised in offices, homes, farms, and factories, in the bench, the bar, and the pulpit. Banish the idea of *yoga* as something professional. Be each one of you a *yogī*, some more perfect, some less; every one has the organic capacity to manifest the ever-present divinity within, by going beyond organic limitations.

In this philosophy, there is the confluence of two energy streams, namely, *the energy of vision and the energy of practical implementation*, the energy of meditation and the energy of action. It signifies the confluence of the energy of Kṛṣṇa, the unarmed charioteer and the master of *yoga*, and the energy of Arjuna, fully armed for heroic action under the guidance of Kṛṣṇa.

31. Conclusion: The Challenge of a Grand Testament

This is the great message of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*. *It is the loftiest and the most practical philosophy of administration*. Here is, for instance, a district for which the state has allocated twenty crores of rupees of the Fourth Plan funds. The administration converts it into a one-hundred-crore-rupees benefits for the people of the district. This is *yoga*; this is *Karmasu kauśalam*. Where, on an acre, its farmers raised five hundred kilograms of foodgrains before, they now raise fifteen hundred kilograms. That is *yoga*. Where there was insult and oppression of the scheduled castes and tribes, there now reigns equality and human dignity; where there was darkness of ignorance and superstition, there is now the light of knowledge and culture. Where there was a steady increase of crime and litigation over the years, there now shines the spirit of mutual trust and cooperation. Where there was the virus of communal conflicts and suspicion, there now reigns peace and social cohesion, and an enlightened clamour from all communities for the enactment of a common national civil code to complete the process of nation-building. The social process as a whole, which was aimless and directionless before, due to which there was the growing tendency to boredom and frustration even among the youth and the rich, which found expression in anti-social attitudes and behaviour, now becomes dynamic and steady and geared to the steady liberation of spiritual values imbedded in life, and to human fulfilment in a fundamental way. All these are the external fruits of that *yoga*, of which the internal fruits are the happiness, peace, and sense of fulfilment of the administrators concerned, resulting from their growth in ethical sense and spiritual awareness. *This is the fusion of the energy of manliness with the energy of saintliness*, which alone has the power of impact on the

world situation to lead humanity on the road to collective human welfare. This is the combination of *philanthropic energy with philosophic calm*, demanded of the science of sociology by Herbert Spencer.

This is the double efficiency issuing from the philosophy of *yoga* of the *Gītā* and from its *rājarṣi* spirit inspiring politics and administration. This is the meaning and significance of the grand testament of the *Gītā* given in its closing verse, which the people of modern India will do well to take as a challenge to them:

*Yatra yogeśvaraḥ kṛṣṇo yatra pārtho dhanurdharaḥ;
Tatra śrīḥ vijayo bhūtiḥ dhruvā nītiḥ matiḥ mama—*

Where (there is) Kṛṣṇa, the master of *yoga* (and) where (there is) Pārtha, the wielder of the bow, there (in that society), I think, wealth, victory, welfare, and unshakable Justice (shall prevail).

OUR CAUSE AND OUR RESOLVE

1. *Introductory*

WITHIN fifteen years of political independence, India has received a challenge to her newly won freedom and her age-old way of life from the present massive Chinese aggression over the Himalayas. The whole nation has responded magnificently to this challenge, thereby proving to herself and to the world at large that her policy of peace is the product of strength and not of weakness. It proceeds from her vision of human unity achieved ages ago in her Upaniṣads, and re-authenticated by the compassionate Buddha and other sages and thinkers in subsequent epochs, down to Sri Ramakrishna and Swami Vivekananda in our own time.

2. *India's Historic Record of Non-aggression*

Out of this vision has flown uninterruptedly 'her unifying and pacifying love for all mankind', in the words of Will Durant. From the point of view of human history, the utter absence of a mood and policy of military aggression by India in her long history is a fact of arresting human significance. Referring to this mood and outlook of the Indian people in his lecture on 'My Master' delivered in New York in 1896, Swami Vivekananda says (*Complete Works*, Vol. IV. Eighth Edition, pp. 156-57):

There live the only men in the world who, in the whole history of humanity, never went beyond their frontiers to conquer anyone, who never coveted that which belonged to anyone else, whose only fault was that their lands were so fertile, and they accumulated wealth by the hard labour of their hands, and so tempted other nations to come and despoil them.

Talk over the All India Radio, Calcutta, on 24th December, 1962, in the series *Our Cause*.

3. *Her Modern Renaissance*

We as a nation did not harm others; but we have been harmed by others. By our political and social disunity and selfish self-centred outlooks, we often weakened ourselves politically and so tempted, in the poignant words of Vivekananda, 'other nations to come and despoil' us. The modern renaissance in India which originated from Bengal in the last century had taken due note of this weakness and its lessons and had given, through Swami Vivekananda, the refreshing message of nation-building through man-making. Our national movement thus emerged out of this renaissance with the message of allround national unity and strength—a message which galvanized our people into united action and endeavour during the first half of this century and which found its partial consummation in the proclamation of our Sovereign Democratic Republic in 1950. The vision of this allround national awakening finds glowing expression in a moving passage of the first lecture that Swami Vivekananda gave in India on his triumphal return from the West in 1897. Opening his reply to the public welcome at Ramnad, near Rameshwaram, the Swami said (*ibid.*, Vol. III, Ninth Edition, pp. 145-46):

The longest night seems to be passing away, the sorest trouble seems to be coming to an end at last, the seeming corpse appears to be awaking . . . India, this motherland of ours . . . from her deep long sleep. None can resist her any more; never is she going to sleep any more; no outward powers can hold her back any more; for the infinite giant is rising to her feet.

4. *Need to Combine Gentleness with Strength*

Since our independence, we seemed to have developed a mood of complacency, an inordinate love of money, ease, and comfort, and a suicidal political tendency to indulge in parochial interests and petty issues. We began to take freedom for granted and indulge, in its sacred name, in every conceivable form of indiscipline, on grounds of individual or group interests, receiving applause from the rest of the nation. We

had not learnt the lessons that self-discipline is the mark of a free man and indiscipline that of a slave, and that eternal vigilance is the price of freedom. It is these lessons that are being burnt into the nation's soul today by the present national emergency. No books or sermons can teach these stern virtues to a people; only the harsh realities of experience can do so. We must take advantage of the fiery ordeal of the present experience to forge a new character and a new destiny for ourselves. *Let every one of us resolve to put first things first*—the freedom and integrity of our ancient land and the happiness and welfare of the millions of our ancient people; and let us once for all realize that citizenship of a free country is made of sterner stuff, and let us say goodbye to all selfish gain and love of ease. And, above all, let us resolve to combine our age-old peaceableness with strength and fearlessness, in response to Śī Kṛṣṇa's advice in *Gītā* (XII. 15):

Yasmāt nodvijate loko lokāt nodvijate ca yaḥ—

From whom the world gets no fear and whom the world also cannot frighten.

5. *Yato Dharmah Tato Jayah*

Our country has experienced many ups and downs in her long history. But India marches on. Our faith in ourselves and in our way of life helped us to overcome the shocks of temporary setbacks. Faith has given nations strength and courage even for the pursuit of wrong causes and policies. Our cause, on the other hand, is just, and our policy right. We have no desire to harm any other country; on the contrary, we have followed, since our independence, our historic policy of seeking the good of all peoples. *The justice of our cause is the source of our faith in our eventual victory. Yato dharmah tato jayah*—'Where there is righteousness there is victory'—is the constant theme of our great epic, the *Mahābhārata*. We have to strengthen our faith and brighten our resolve, to ensure the march of free India from victory to victory—a victory which spells defeat to no other country. The struggle may be long; it may even entail occasional setbacks; but its end will

see the nation spiritually purified, emotionally integrated and politically and socially alert.

6. *Conclusion*

This is the promethean spirit that Vivekananda has left us as an imperishable legacy. In a letter entitled 'To My Brave Boys' written by him in 1894, we breathe this spirit (*Complete Works*, Vol. IV, Eighth Edition, p. 367):

Struggle, struggle, was my motto for the last ten years. Struggle, still I say. When it was all dark, I used to say, struggle; when light is breaking in, I still say, struggle.

The nation today, and for ever after, must constantly inspire itself by this spirit of eternal hope and unceasing endeavour.

NATIONAL EMERGENCY AND THE PRIMACY OF SPIRITUAL VALUES

1. *Introductory*

THE significant point, one with which all will agree, is that we, the people of India, needed a shock treatment. The amount of complacency that had gripped our minds for the last several years was such that, every day, we were weakening ourselves as a people and as a state. But today, fortunately, an awakening has come. This emergency has given us the opportunity to think and evaluate what we are and where we are going. In the context of this emergency, a discussion such as this is of great value to us. Some of the speakers who preceded me have given you an insight into the mind and mood and methods of the present Chinese rulers; on the other hand, we have a different mind and mood and methods. It is good for us to understand something about our own national approach and methods, and learn to have faith in them and to stand by them in weal and woe.

2. *Our National Context of Freedom*

We are a democracy. We are a free people. Everything is done in our country by free public discussion. That is the great proud privilege of a free people. This very symposium could not have been possible in the China of today. It is only here that we can hold such a symposium, discuss and analyse our mistakes, and suggest and demand the correctives. I wish the people of India fully realize the importance and significance of this great context in which we live and function. Democracy

Speech at the symposium on *Chinese Aggression: Its Implications—Social, Cultural, and Spiritual*, at the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, on 29th December, 1962.

cannot be taken for granted. Democratic liberties cannot be taken for granted. A keen and pervasive awareness on the part of the people about the worth and value of freedom is necessary to strengthen democracy. It is, however, sad to reflect that during the last fifteen years of our politically independent existence our thoughts and our actions have been tending more to weaken and disrupt our national freedom than to strengthen and consolidate it. We have indulged in several forms of suicidal activities leading to the weakening of our democracy through our encouragement of many a centrifugal tendency. We often forgot our national purpose and resolve which seek expression in a tremendous democratic experiment involving the life and welfare of the 440 million people of our country—an experiment of human transformation based on freedom, on the dignity and worth of man as an individual, and the primacy of spiritual values. This experiment is the direct offshoot of the spiritual and human urges behind the great culture and spiritual traditions of our country, strengthened and amplified by the great lessons our country has learnt from its contact with modern western culture. Our nation, thus, is a confluence of two powerful streams of culture—our own ancient heritage and the modern western heritage. Freedom was the watchword of our national spiritual thought; freedom is the watchword of modern western socio-political thought as well.

3. *Our Post-independence Complacency*

We are trying to enhance our inherited concept of freedom by assimilating into it the concepts and expressions of freedom which the West has brought to us. Therefore, in the heart of our new Constitution, in our new democratic experiment, we have implanted this great idea of man's worth as man, his dignity, his freedom, and his equality. And all our social and political processes are meant to make him realize his fullest stature. This idealistic impulse at the back of our national resolve and purpose should have inspired and strengthened us in all our activities, individual and collective. But, as I said earlier, we did not imbibe this idealism and develop this faith in sufficient measure; we treated it as sacred sentiments, but allowed it to remain in the pages of the Indian Constitution,

and did not take steps to make it a moving force in the hearts of our men and women. We saw the steady waning, year by year, of the idealism and patriotic fervour of our pre-independence days, and we took no steps to arrest this national decadence.

4. Significance of Our Democratic Experiment

We have indulged in the licence of weakening criticism in the sacred name of freedom. We have also engaged ourselves too much in the pastime of finding fault with what our state has been doing, while praising the real or fancied achievements of other states, especially of Communist China. Nor could we have done otherwise, because we had no faith in ourselves. Through following these suicidal ways, we developed a cynical complacency and weakened our national resolve. This national emergency has helped to awaken us and to make us realise the significance of the experiment that our own nation is making. It is dawning on us slowly that that experiment has both a national and an international significance; it is positive and creative and not negative and destructive. If it succeeds, it will have great repercussions on the world; but if it fails, it will equally have great world impacts. The success of the democratic experiment in India will mean the eventual success of democracy in Asia and Africa. India is a miniature world with its many religions, cultures, cultural levels, language groups, and racial types. Welding all these varieties into a nation, economically strong, socially progressive, and spiritually united, through the democratic methods of individual freedom and responsibility is, in every sense, a significant experiment. It is the arresting drama of human development through freedom, involving a seventh of the human race.

5. The Nation to be Educated in Its Ideology Basis

India has experienced freedom in religion for ages; it has resulted in the flowering of her national genius in the field of religion. Today, we have extended that freedom to social and political fields as well, with a view to effecting and allround efflorescence of our national life. It is a mighty adventure,

especially when we consider the number and variety of human beings involved. We shall need all the strength derived from our own age-old national heritage; we shall also need all the strength derived from our assimilation of the legacy of other nations and cultures. Our experiment is outward-looking and forward-gazing, not inward-looking and backward-gazing. It is not rigidly cast in a doctrinaire mould, but is resilient and hospitable to new ideas. That is the sign of its dynamism and vigour. The nation today needs to be educated in this ideological basis of its existence and the direction of its life forces.

In a true democracy, the state derives its strength from its citizens, from its educated, enlightened, and responsible citizens. We require, therefore, to develop today that sense of responsibility characteristic of a free people. Whatever happens, happens because of us. Public criticism of the state in a democracy needs to be controlled by this citizen's sense of responsibility. Our state is not the rule of a minority over the majority, which is the case in Communist China, according to the previous speaker's description. It is not the tyranny of a minority. It is, as proclaimed in our Constitution, we, the people of India, that have given ourselves this free democratic Constitution; ours, therefore, is the People's State in the true sense of the term and not in its euphemistic sense. We are just *in* the State or *under* the State; we *belong* to it and it *belongs* to us.

6. *Authoritarian State versus Free State*

This particular emergency will pass, sooner or later; but we must learn to retain our will to be free and increase our national strength step by step. In this connection, it is good for us to remember that there is a different method of getting strength in a democracy compared to what it is in a regimented state. From the description given by the previous speaker, of present-day China, you would have noted that it is an authoritarian state where the life of the people is completely controlled and regimented. Millions of its people are made to believe in a particular way, act in a particular way; they have no individuality, no status as free citizens of a free society. That is *their* method; they are welcome to have it. But *we* have a different method, a different objective, and a different set of values. One

of the greatest problems of a democracy, especially in times of crisis, is to find that motive power of effective action which comes from within the citizen himself. It cannot be sought from a regimenting authority outside. It must come from within each one of the citizens themselves. In an ideal democracy, the citizen supplies the driving power of the state, just as, in a regimented state, the state drives the citizens.

A totalitarian state is strong in proportion to the lack of capacity for fearless thought and independent action in its people. Such a state sits heavily on its people. But the strength of a democratic state is directly proportional to the capacity for fearless thought and independent action of all its citizens. Thus democracy alone can be a people's state. Therein alone do the people receive the stimulus to rise to their highest stature, by assimilating the values of freedom, equality, and the sense of responsibility.

7. Our Education in the Light of the Present Emergency

Responsible citizenship is the only remedy for all the problems of our new democratic state. But this is dependent upon a sound system of education, upon what Swami Vivekananda called a man-making education. To rouse the citizen to an awareness of his own worth, dignity, and responsibility, to make him the source of all the strength and sustenance of society—that is the true purpose and role of education in a democracy. Such a society will provide a healthy *milieu* for the development of character and personality of all its children. Education and more education, institutional and social, is the one source of strength of a free society.

This is the work that we have neglected so long. This emergency will be a God-sent blessing if it impresses upon us the urgency of this task—the entire reshaping of the educational policy of our country, the defining of its objectives and methods in terms of the national goal and purpose. Let it not be said that it is only in a regimented state that people can be roused to enthusiasm. A democracy should also be able to rouse people's enthusiasm and canonize their devotion, not by external pressure, but by educating its free people to respond spontaneously to

in our country, as is attested by the spontaneous and magnificent response of our people to the present emergency. But we cannot overlook the fact that this response was preceded by a period of utter complacency, and that it was called forth by a challenge of an unprecedented magnitude. National education should be so oriented as to increase the strength of patriotic impulse and the quality of alertness of mind of the people. Otherwise, within a few years, complacency may again overtake us, probably in a worse way; for, after an emergency passes, there is always a tendency to relapse into worse conditions of weakness or complacency. If our awakening today is not genuinely democratic, if it is not the true upsurge of a people who are conscious of the meaning of freedom and the great responsibility involved in preserving that freedom, then the present awakening will be just like the spurt of energy experienced by a hysteric patient. Much energy is released during the attack of hysteria, but when that neurotic condition passes away, the patient is left weaker than before. All lovers of India desire to see India growing from strength to strength, so that it may become a bulwark of freedom and dignity of man in this part of the world. That is why the spiritual, social, and cultural implications for India of the present Chinese aggression on our country are going to be vast and varied; they will touch our individual and collective lives at all points.

8. Need for a Spiritual Orientation

After centuries of political subjection, our country has become free. Shall we imperil that freedom by our loose talk, by our want of faith, by our want of response to the challenge of national unity and strength? A spiritual orientation of our national mind is of supreme significance today. Loss of faith in the nation and its way of life is the greatest source of weakness to any people. This gives rise to a lack of seriousness, to a mood of cynicism. These weaknesses have corroded the hearts and wills of many of our educated sections; many of them betray a negative outlook and mood; they are the products of a negative education. The study of their national history has not burnt into them the shame of subjection and the joy of freedom, and the price to be paid for the enjoyment of the latter. Loss

of faith on the part of a single generation can weaken the five thousand year-long chain of our national existence.

In the history of ancient Greece, we read of the great upsurge in culture and thought in the Athens of fifth century B. C. produced by the stimulus of victory against the Persian invaders. Though Greece, and particularly Athens, suffered grievously from the invasion, yet the stimulus of freedom resulted in an outburst of creative activity in art, literature, and philosophy in the succeeding fifty years, which became the golden age of Greek history and the perennial inspiration for the Western peoples down to our own time. The number of people who created that culture was very small; the free population of Athens then numbered only about 2,30,000. It is a glowing example of what a people, spiritually stimulated and rich in quality, though small in numbers, can achieve. This has a lesson for the whole of humanity. It has a great lesson for democratic India. Look at our own recent history. After centuries of political immobilization, during which the nation experienced much humiliation and privation, we achieved freedom; we made sacrifices for that freedom and we intended that freedom to be the means to enhance the glory of man in our own country and everywhere else. If that freedom is imperilled today, largely by our own weaknesses; then it is our duty to awaken and discipline ourselves once again, improve the spiritual quality of our men and women, and increase their alertness and sense of responsibility. If our new-found freedom is a pervasive spiritual stimulus, we shall certainly achieve all this and write a new and unprecedented golden chapter in our age-old history.

9. *The Bane of Small-mindedness*

We have to confess—and the present emergency compels us to do a little searching of heart—that we have, since independence, cared more to exploit our newly won freedom for selfish purposes than to serve its cause or enhance its value. We have tried to weaken our state by advocating regional, linguistic, and other narrow claims backed by organised movements often of a violent nature. The idea that the state derives its strength and sustenance from the loyalty of a free and responsible people was not emphasized as it should have been. The people often

exhibited a tendency to consider themselves as subjects and not as free citizens of the state, which they treated as the 'other', as something set over or against them, to be criticized or ridiculed as the mood of the moment dictated. Little did we pause to think that such moods and actions on the part of the citizens of a democratic state would weaken the fabric of the state and corrode into its vitality and strength.

Swami Vivekananda tells us a story which well illustrates the post-independence behaviour of large sections of our people (*Complete Works*, Vol. I, Eleventh Edition, pp. 427-28):

There was a certain king who had a huge number of courtiers, and each one of these courtiers declared that he was ready to sacrifice his life for his master, and that he was the most sincere being ever born. In course of time, a *sannyāsin* came to the king. The king said to him that there never was a king who had so many sincere courtiers as he had. The *sannyāsin* smiled and said he did not believe that. The king said the *sannyāsin* could test it if he liked. So the *sannyāsin* declared that he would make a great sacrifice by which the king's reign would be extended very long, with the condition that there should be made a small tank into which each one his courtiers should pour a pitcher of milk in the dark of night. The king smiled and said, 'Is this the test?' And he asked his courtiers to come to him, and told them what was to be done. They all expressed their joyful assent to the proposal and returned. In the dead of night they came and emptied their pitchers into the tank. But in the morning it was found full of water only. The courtiers were assembled and questioned about the matter. Each one of them had thought there would be so many pitchers of milk that his water would not be detected. Unfortunately, most of us have the same idea, and we do our share of work as did the courtiers in the story.

Many of us have behaved with our state like those courtiers. Each one of us thought that our own individual self-seeking would not matter, since others were moved by patriotic impulses and selfless attitudes. At the birth of our independence, only a few thought like this. But their number began to increase year

by year, until selfishness and self-seeking became a pervasive trait of our national life bringing national morality to the lowest ebb.

10. Democracy is Made of Sterner Stuff

The nation stands in sore need of a spiritual regeneration today. There has been much talk of raising the economic standard of the people, but very little about their moral standard. The nation was merrily going along with the idea that the index of national development is increase in national wealth. This led to an excessive love of money with its attendant evils; the resort to easy ways of making money through corruption and all conceivable forms of malpractices, love of ease, and neglect of heroic virtues and graces. The present Chinese invasion has administered the much-needed shock to our shallow optimism and facile mood. We have now to take steps to ensure that this catharsis leads to a root-and-branch spiritual regeneration. The nation must learn once for all that freedom and democracy are made of sterner stuff than what they had exhibited so far. This emphasis on spiritual values will help to redeem the Indian man from thralldom to false values and put him in the centre of our national development programme. His growth and development in self-discipline, social awareness, personal integrity, and practical efficiency shall henceforth become the index of national development. This is what Swami Vivekananda termed man-making religion and man-making education.

11. Conclusion

For the last 150 years, all the great leaders of our national renaissance had upheld the primacy of spiritual values. Raja Rammohun Roy, Ramakrishna, Vivekananda, and Mahatma Gandhi had uniformly emphasized the need to enrich the Indian man and woman spiritually, and worked energetically towards the same. *They advocated material and all other improvements only with a view to raising the spiritual quality of our people.* Their vision of human excellence was universal and human; and they preached their message of national renaissance keeping this wider end in view. We have to educate ourselves today

in the blue-prints for human development which they have provided. By this we shall be able to refresh ourselves spiritually, and recapture faith in ourselves and in our national objectives. With that faith in our hearts we shall be able to work with added vigour and dedication to strengthen our infant democratic state, and make our distinct contribution to the enhancement of human dignity and freedom everywhere.

DEMOCRACY AND RESPONSIBLE CITIZENSHIP

1. Introductory

I WAS invited to come and join this Convention by its convenors. I am here with you all to discuss ways and means to strengthen the great democratic experiment of our nation.

2. The New Awakening

I am glad to find that, in recent months, our people have become somewhat awakened to their citizenship responsibilities towards our infant democratic state. For a long time we had left everything to the state, to the government, and to the political parties, and the people had abdicated their responsibilities as citizens. During the last two years or so, we have been experiencing that the parliamentary democracy, which we have established in our country since we proclaimed our Constitution in 1950, has developed several undesirable features. The weak functioning of the governments, both in the Centre and in the States, the unprecedented manifestation of violence in our civil life, the irresponsible behaviour of most of our political parties, widespread corruption in public life, malpractices in our industry and trade, and the general apathy of the people—all these phenomena have tended to weaken the fabric of our infant democratic state. Many democracies have gone asunder under such circumstances.

It is up to the citizens of India to strengthen their democracy. The strength of a democracy lies in its alert and patriotic citizens; but somehow or other we, as citizens, did not come forward to protect and sustain our democracy; we did nothing to

arrest these undesirable trends all these years. We failed to be inspired by the ever-tested truth that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. Now things have gone too far. Yet it is not too late to reverse the trend towards disorder and chaos. This consideration has, to the nation's good fortune, initiated a mood of self-criticism in our people and a will to reverse that trend. Our nation does not want to destroy itself today, just as it has not been destroyed by outside powers all these thousands of years. It must, therefore, resolve to acquire self-reliance and self-confidence with a view to building up its democratic structure on adamantine foundations.

3. The Mood and Method of Self-reliance

This convention can be taken as one of the fruits of that new resolve. A convention of this type was first held in Delhi; now it is being held here in the capital city of West Bengal, the premier industrial and intellectual city of India. I am very much interested in this approach to our national problems because it offers to our people the mood and method of self-reliance, which is essential for strengthening our democracy, and raises their stature as citizens of a free nation. We are being taught today by foreign nations to become self-reliant in our agriculture and food production. This is a very salutary advice; and it is to our good that circumstances are compelling us to accept it. But the most significant field in which this mood of self-reliance is to be implemented is in the safeguarding of our national liberty and the democratic way of life proclaimed in our constitution.

4. Our Post-independence Complacency

We have established a sovereign democratic state after centuries of political subjection and social immobilization. Any nation which becomes free after years of political slavery and oppression becomes jealous of its new-won freedom and strives energetically to protect it from disruption from within or invasion from without. Our country was under foreign domination, foreign subjugation and oppression, not for a few years but for centuries. In spite of this, why is it that within a few years of

our attaining independence, we have lost the dynamics of freedom, we have become lost in divisive attitudes and selfish pursuits?

Other nations under similar circumstances have sacrificed everything to protect their political freedom and worked hard to ensure allround development. We, on the other hand, became quickly complacent, neglected the cultivation of heroic virtues, and opted for the easy life. We sadly neglected the cherishing and nourishing of that freedom which we had gained after centuries of slavery. We all too soon forgot the vital lesson of history that liberty thrives only under constant and eternal vigilance. The Chinese aggression, and, later the Pakistani aggression, shook us out of our complacency; but, alas! only for a short time. Internal dissensions soon raised their heads until we and the world outside feared that our state was cracking up. There was a mood of fear and despair. But out of that depth of despair has now come the national will to survive and the national resolve to reverse the downward trend.

5. *Our Democratic Responsibilities*

It is a happy augury that, since the past one year, many of our citizens have become conscious of our national ailments and of their responsibilities to avert national disintegration. We are slowly realizing that our responsibilities as citizens do not end with casting our votes once in five years; we are realizing that we have the responsibility to ensure the health of our democracy by being alert and sensitive, intelligent and effective. We have to see that our democracy expresses itself not only in the constitution of the state, but also in its administration, in the functioning of its political parties and social groups, and in the awareness of its citizens. *We have also to keep in mind that political democracy becomes a sham if it does not strive to transform itself into economic and social democracy.* This penetration of the democratic spirit and value into the nation is what strengthens democracy; and that is achieved by constant vigilance on the part of the citizens.

6. *Our State to be Made Responsive to Its Citizens*

Obviously, we as a nation have to reckon with the failings

of our administration, the weaknesses of our government, and the irresponsible behaviour of our political parties. We need basic training in the virtues and graces of responsible citizenship; we need training in the way free citizens deal with each other and with the state. *What is more, we need our state to become more responsive to its citizens.* The public feeling that public grievances cannot be redressed without resort to violence is disastrous for any democracy. This malady is afflicting us today. It can be cured only by our government and administration becoming more efficient and more responsive to people's needs. This involves the ministers, legislators, and officers learning to think of themselves as citizens first and as state functionaries afterwards. They are essentially citizens called to perform a particular state function.

7. The Strength of a Democratic State Lies in Its Free Citizens

Our education has not trained us in this kind of attitude to ourselves and to our fellow citizens. The fruit of this attitude is a sense of national responsibility and the spirit of service. Unless we respect the rights of our fellow citizens, we do not raise our own democratic stature. *The strength of a democracy lies in its democratic citizens and not in its officers and ministers.* All institutional education and socio-political education in a democracy must be designed to produce such citizens, free, responsible, and politically aware. Persons living in a free state but without a sense of *belonging* to it, and apathetic towards what is happening around them, cannot be called democratic citizens. Unfortunately, this apathy is writ large in the attitude and functioning of most of our people. This apathy gives rise to loss of self-confidence and resignation, which reacts to the political maladies of the country with the only slogan, the slogan of despair, expressing its helplessness with the cry: 'hell to the politicians and the political parties'. Such a reaction is destructive of the good life, which is nourished and sustained only by a healthy political state. Such an attitude in a people shows them up as citizens only in name and not in reality. We do not become free merely by living in a free environment, under a free constitution. We become truly free when the spirit of freedom enters into us, suffusing our inner being and raising our

stature and dignity as free and responsible citizens of a free society.

8. *Need for More Political Education*

From this point of view, we have sadly to admit that our political education has been very very poor. The various activities of the different political parties would have become our democratic assets *if they had tended to educate our people in political awareness and democratic responsibilities*; it is not enough that people get stirred up at the time of an election once in five years. That stir must have the backing of a general level of political awareness and citizenship responsibility, cultivated in the field of day to day life and action. The lack of these is seen in the sad functioning of our local self-government institutions, urban and rural. So, in every sphere there is the need for the effective education of our people—education not merely to equip a citizen to earn a living, but also to intelligently manipulate the social *milieu*; this is the *political* education of the citizens, using the term ‘political’ in its widest sense. There are two types of education, namely, religious education and political education. One is education for the inward life and the other is education for the outward life. We have a strong tradition of religious education in our nation, some of which is healthy, some unhealthy. What we now need is the political education of our people, by which they will be able to understand their rights and duties, and intelligently participate in the collective life of the nation.

9. *Democratic Tolerance and Our Citizens*

Democracy needs a measure of tolerance of other people's views and ways. We are a tolerant people; we have to preserve this trait of ours even while holding strong political and religious convictions. The desire to influence other people must be accompanied by a willingness to listen patiently to them. Democracy is defined as government by discussion and not by coercion; democracy is breaking wits and not breaking heads. Voltaire's famous dictum has to be constantly kept in view: *I do not believe a single word of what you say; but I shall defend*

with my life your right to say so. And when we proceed to convince other people, we shall feel the need for new talents and capacities in ourselves. The mind has to be disciplined in scientific objectivity and precision and the passion for facts. We can silence another by shouting; but we cannot *convince* him or her by that method. This can be done only through massing facts and figures, and insight into their meaning and significance. Hence the need for sound knowledge and information.

Along with this, there is need to develop the art of effective communication of ideas. Here comes the importance of the cultivation of speech, getting a grip on language. For, in every society, man influences his neighbour through speech. In a democracy, the importance of this medium of communication is very high. Unfortunately, it is least cultivated in our education. To have sound ideas, and to be able to communicate them effectively to others through speech and writing, so as to influence their thinking and action—the widespread acceptance of this same method, in the context of a general attitude of active tolerance, is what constitute the ethical basis of democratic politics. This training must come to our citizens right from the debating forums of their schools and colleges.

10. Democratic Tolerance and Our Legislatures

If this is essential in our inter-human relationships, it is still more essential in the conduct of our legislatures and parliament. They are the barometers of a nation's political and social health. They are the forums which call for the utmost restraint and decorum, mutual respect and tolerance in the members, even while they vehemently criticize each other's policies and programmes, follies and failures. It is a matter of grave concern that our standards of parliamentary behaviour have been falling fast in recent years. Our parliament and legislatures have to create and maintain the highest traditions of intellectual competence and moral integrity, courtesy and tolerance, vigilance and national responsiveness. Through exercising the privileges of free discussion and debate, fearless criticism and constructive policy suggestions, the members of the opposition, as much as those of the treasury benches, contribute to the democratic education of the people as much as to the governance of the state. The

opposition must always remember that it will one day be called upon to sit on the treasury benches and shoulder the responsibilities of government. In a true democracy, a political minority status is never a permanent status, unlike a religious or racial or linguistic minority status. A political minority party today may become a majority party in the next election. If it fails to attain that status, it is not due to external factors but only due to defects in its policy and programme or organization and leadership. Occasional reshuffling of the legislature resulting in changes in the relative strength of government and opposition parties is healthy for a democracy. This is what is provided for in our five-year general elections; the freedom and fairness of which need to be zealously ensured by the party in power and jealously guarded by the citizens and the opposition.

11. Democratic Tolerance and Our Political Parties

In democratic politics, the struggle of the political parties is directed to the one end of winning the allegiance of the people to their respective ideologies and programmes. The people are the true judges of the parties and their programmes; as such, they are the true leaders, political leaders are their servants; not euphemistically, but in a real sense. The end and aim of politics in a democracy, therefore, is the education of the citizen in the intelligent and free choosing of his 'leaders' and replacing them when they prove inadequate to the nation's tasks. This is the true test of the sovereignty of the citizen in a democracy. He is sovereign and subject in one. The state in a democracy is not something apart from, or sitting over, the citizen. It is only the collective will of its citizens.

12. Tolerance in Our National Tradition

India, as I said earlier, has a long tradition of tolerance, which was created early in our history by our philosophy, and fostered by our religion and our political state in subsequent periods. Great and world-moving spiritual leaders like Kṛṣṇa, Buddha, Śaṅkara, and Aśoka in the past powerfully influenced millions of people, resorting entirely to the democratic methods of peaceful persuasion backed by rational appeal and sterling

character. In our own time, we saw the reinforcing of this tradition and method in Swami Vivekananda. We had the benefit of its successful application in the socio-political field by Gandhiji.

13. Conclusion

Let us hope that the impending general election—the fourth such experience for our people since our independence—will strengthen our infant democracy by instilling a measure of self-confidence and social responsibility into our citizens, enabling the nation to tackle and solve its accumulated and mounting problems. These are best achieved by open discussion and free debate. That is the way to build the future of our ancient nation on adamant foundations.

INDIA TO LEARN TO GO THE HARD WAY

1. *Introductory*

SINCE the attainment of political independence in 1947, a new India has come into being, bubbling with new energies and aspirations and engaged in diverse activities in search of their realization.

2. *Modern India: Three Great Achievements*

Behind it lies a century of effort and struggle of the modern national renaissance. The first achievement of new India was the framing of a constitution for itself giving voice and form to its vision of human dignity and equality, and the establishment of a sovereign democratic republican state as the instrument of the national will to translate that vision into reality in the life of a sixth of the human race.

The second achievement is the initiation of a many-sided economic and social development programme through its successive five year plans.

A third achievement is the successful holding of four general elections involving, in the fourth, over 210 million voters, *and giving the Indian people a political education which they did not have during the five thousand years of their history.*

3. *Needed: A Fourth Achievement*

Through all these processes, including the slow but steady spread of a common system of education throughout the nation, *new India is evolving into a full-fledged nationality, irrespective of caste, creed, and sex, for the first time in its long history.*

Contributed to the *Vojana*, the journal of the Indian National Planning Commission, New Delhi, in its special series *This I Like About New India*, 26th July, 1970.

This evolution needs for its completion a fourth achievement on the part of its democratic national forces, namely, the adoption of a common national civil code through democratic consent. The nation has to bend its energies to get this done as soon as possible.

4. *The Uniqueness of Our Social Tensions*

These achievements are impressive in themselves. In them we see stimulus of the new-won freedom helping to compress a century of history into two or three decades. But they are inadequate, when viewed against the background of the long suppressed urges of the people longing for fulfilment. This explains the political and social tensions and turmoils of our nation today. *These are not the signs of national decay but of national health and vigour.* They are, in fact, the challenges of freedom; *freedom has no meaning unless it involves freedom to learn and to experiment, and freedom even to commit blunders in the process.*

We cannot make some other nation's wisdom our own; we have to acquire wisdom ourselves through our own experiences, through our own successes and failures. *All the contemporary developed nations have not started with wisdom but have blundered into whatever wisdom they now possess through the hard way.* Viewed in the perspective of history a hundred years ahead, our post-independence years up-to-date will appear as the dynamic seedtime of bumper national harvests ahead.

5. *Vivekananda and Our Social Tensions*

Some of us may be disturbed by the tumult and tension in our country today and feel even anxious for its future. *Such anxieties can be digested if we can learn to view our national scene through the eyes of far-seeing leaders such as Swami Vivekananda.*

When Swami Vivekananda was returning to India in 1897, to be received as a conquering hero by the people after his four years of successful cultural and spiritual work in the Western World, a Western fellow-passenger and friend on the ship told him that his country, India, was a highly moral

country. He asked her what made her think so. She replied that there was so little crime in India, whereas in England and America there was so much crime. Any patriot will be proud to receive such a tribute to his country from a foreigner; but not Swami Vivekananda. He heaved a little in deep feeling and said, to the amazement of the friend: *I wish it were otherwise with my country. There is no energy in my people even to commit a crime.*

He saw India sunk in the inertia of *tamas*: he wanted his people to shake off their centuries-long *tamas* and develop the energy of *rajas*, and then raise it to the highest level, the level of *sattwa*. The energy of *rajas* is the energy of awakened humanity; it is the energy behind all social transformation; but, for this, it needs chastening by *sattwa*. Under the touch of *sattwa*, it becomes capable of grasping the nation's problems of poverty, social injustice, and general inefficiency, and taking energetic steps to tackle the same. Without the touch of *sattwa*, *rajasic* energy becomes self-centred and exploitative, unethical and self-cancelling. *Sattwa* channels it into social purposes, raising it in quantity and quality in the process, and divesting it of all fuss and noise. It then becomes the calm, silent, creative energy of man-making and nation-building.

6. Vivekananda and the Spiritual Growth of Man

If Swami Vivekananda were to come today to present-day India, he would be happy to witness the enormous energies manifested by his people. He would say to our people: Yes, you are no more under *tamas*; you have woken up from your centuries-long sleep. You have learnt even to commit crimes, you can burn buses and trains and even kill each other. You have captured the energy of *rajas*; *you have thus taken the first step in man-making and nation-building; but only the first step. You are now to take the second step, namely, giving a constructive and creative direction to your energies by channelling them into socially useful goals and purposes. That is man-making education and man-making religion in one.*

Herein is found the reaching out of the more palpable physical and intellectual growth of man into an impalpable, yet

spiritual growth. Ancient *Vedanta* and modern biology recognize this as the special line of human evolutionary advance. *The whole nation must educate itself at least in this step, even if most people may be unable to proceed to the further steps of spiritual growth available to every human being.* And Swami Vivekananda would congratulate those patriots and national workers who have educated themselves in this second step and have been in the vanguard of national development. He would tell them to have faith in themselves and inspire it in others. He would re-emphasise the motto he had given: 'Be and make'. Be men yourselves and help others to be men.

7. Conclusion

In the light of this, the whole of India will become an institution for human growth and fulfilment. And he would whisper into the ears of one and all in the nation his favourite clarion call: Arise! Awake! and stop not till the goal is reached.

MODERN INDIA AND THE PIONEERING SPIRIT

1. *Introductory*

THIS is my second visit to these Andaman Islands. Last time, I came here in January 1962. I have been fascinated by these Islands ever since I came here in 1962.

2. *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands : Their Uniqueness*

This fascination is not only because these Islands are very beautiful, with beautiful landscapes, fine creeks, fine blue seas, and thick jungles, but also because here is an experiment being conducted in clearing jungles, in making new settlements of men and women drawn from the mainland, creating new townships, smiling fields, factories and households. *Here I see the pioneering spirit, where man's indomitable spirit tries to create a pattern of excellence for himself.* It is because of this that, when I come here, I feel highly stimulated. Perhaps even in the mainland India, thanks to the bubbling energies released by our independence, there is a spirit of adventure in the air. But that spirit is much more here, because here it is not inhibited by our past traditions of stagnation for centuries; and so here we see the spirit of new India, full of energy, full of vitality.

3. *The Expansive Mind and Mood of Modern India*

This is the spirit of the pioneer; and I wish to refer to this particular aspect of the Andamans situation, because it expresses the real spirit of new India. For the last hundred years, India has been experiencing a great mood of expansion. India's

expansion is always ideological—cultural, commercial, and spiritual, but it is never aggressive. It never goes out of itself to destroy other people's happiness. And so this spirit of expansion, which we in India are experiencing during the last hundred years, is the result of a great renaissance that started sweeping over the country along with its contact with western culture in the last century. Towards the end of that century came the great leader of this renaissance, Swami Vivekananda, who can be considered to be one of the greatest architects of the mind and face of new India. In him India found the spirit of the pioneer, with tremendous courage and adventure, with intense practicality and universal vision. He roused India from the sleep of ages. His first speech after landing on the soil of India in 1897 from his triumphant tour of America and Europe—the very first lecture—contains the spirit of expansion in the mood of new India. Says Swamiji in that lecture in the opening paragraph (*Complete Works*, Vol. III, Ninth Edition, pp. 145-46).

The longest night seems to be passing away, the sorest trouble seems to be coming to an end at last, the seeming corpse appears to be awaking . . . India, this motherland of ours . . . from her deep long sleep. None can resist her any more; never is she going to sleep any more; no outward powers can hold her back any more; for the infinite giant is rising to her feet.

This is a powerful sentiment which lies at the back of the expansive mind and mood of modern India, and Swami Vivekananda is the symbol of that expansive India whose energies, long contained within the borders of the country, long unable to cope even with its own problems, today have become released; and they work not only to create a new India, but also to create new humanity. This spirit of the pioneer, this spirit of courage and adventure, is the spirit that is creating a new India out of the ancient India which we have inherited. It is amazing to see this bubbling energy in the India of today. A nation with a five thousand year-old history is young and vital today; and this youth and vitality is finding expression in a programme of national development.

allround and pervasive, and in a programme of projecting the mind and face of India into the international world. That projection is always on the side of peace, on the side of fellowship, on the side of international cooperation.

4. *Vivekananda on the Primacy of Man Over Money*

And so far as India's own frontiers are concerned, the work within India is the creation of a new India, healthy in its body-politic, fused with the spirit of human unity and equality, and making man take strides to solve his own problems on the economic, social, political, cultural, and spiritual levels. This is the man-making process which Swami Vivekananda introduced into our country. Make men; money is nothing. 'Where are the men?' asked Swami Vivekananda. In this process, Swamiji's own life gives us the greatest example and inspiration. When he was speaking of his plans for India, in his famous lectures on 'My Plan of Campaign' and 'The Future of India', delivered in Madras, in 1897, Swamiji raised this question. He set forth therein the following as his plan for the development of his country; spread of education, raising the masses, educating the women, bringing the blessings of culture to millions who have been deprived of it for centuries together, and creating a new economic base for the mental life of the people of the country; and he proceeded to say (*ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 303):

This is my plan You may ask, where is the money to come from? . . . Money is nothing. For the last twelve years of my life, I did not know where the next meal would come from; but money and everything I want must come, because they are my slaves, and not I theirs; money and everything else must come. *Must*—that is the word. Where are the men? That is the question.

This question he asked more than sixty years ago: Where are the men? For it is men that create civilization; it is men that create culture—men who possess the spirit of adventure, the spirit of dedication. It is such men and women that India needs today; and it is such men and women that Swami

Vivekananda sought to create out of the age-old people of our country.

5. *Andamans and the Pioneering Spirit*

The Andamans represents that spirit of Swami Vivekananda; and the more that spirit is spread in these Islands, the more we shall see the flowering of life, of human culture, and of civilization in these islands. The spirit which becomes unthwarted by obstacles and difficulties, which no sea or mountain can ever obstruct, the spirit that conquers all difficulties, that *promethean* spark which is the characteristic of all great pioneers—we need to capture that spirit in these Islands. People here must realize that the creating of a new society in the jungles of these islands is not done in an easy way; the life of ease and comfort is not for the pioneer. He is like the sapper and miner in an army, creating bridges, constructing roads, so that the army can march from behind. Similarly, in these islands, this is the time, at least for one generation, when the men and women who have settled here must dedicate themselves in the spirit of true pioneers. Facing obstacles, difficulties, taking life as an adventure, never complaining, never grumbling—it is such people that can create a new society, a new culture and civilization, in these beautiful Islands.

6. *The Modern West and the Pioneering Spirit*

India has long been seeking the life of ease and comfort, and that shows the weakness of the Indian mind during the last few centuries. And Swami Vivekananda warned us: 'All expansion is life, all contraction is death.' We have been contracting to a point during the last few centuries; we always sought comfort, and were unwilling to face any difficulty; but that brought us almost face to face with death. Then came our contact with the dynamic Western culture, where we see, for the first time, the spirit of man triumphing over ignorance. Science, that tremendous intellectual discipline which unveils the secrets of nature, which brings before man the infinite sources of its power, so that he may compose his own distractions—this is the first expression of the pioneering spirit of the

modern Western world. Then comes the application of science to the problems of agriculture, of industry, of health, of medicine; thus a whole new civilization, highly technological, deeply imbued with the scientific spirit, developed in the West. India came in touch with this great science, with this great technology, with this great civilization. India was awakened from its sleep of ages; and, through the great instrumentality of the modern renaissance; tried to educate herself in this new spirit. That is the new renaissance now sweeping over the country.

We have seen in European history how a few pioneers went to America from England, settled down on the eastern coast, faced many privations, many difficulties, but undaunted, they created a new civilization on the soil of America which is the pride of mankind today. Economically prosperous, industrially advanced, intellectually alert, what a wonderful civilization these pioneers created on the American soil! So also in Australia, and in many other places. Our own history reveals that in ancient times batches of Indians, with this pioneering spirit, with this spirit of adventure, travelled abroad in various South-East Asian countries, and helped to fertilize the lives of the peoples of those countries, creating new cultures and civilizations in the process.

7. *Ancient India and 'Caraiveti, Caraiveti'*

That is the spirit of India which we must constantly remember—the spirit of expansion, which we find in a famous statement of the *Yajur-Veda*: *Caraiveti, Caraiveti*—‘March on, march on’. The human spirit marching to conquer the Everest of experience—that is the spirit of the pioneer. And I am sure that the people of the Andamans will inspire themselves with this spirit. They will then be able to overcome these little temptations arising from the desire for ease which we had for a few decades. We shall thus become truly worthy of the spirit of modern India, the spirit of progress, the spirit of adventure, the spirit of real striving to create a new pattern of excellence in the life, not of a small minority, but of the 450 millions of the citizen of our country—citizens drawn from the fields and factories, from the tribal areas, from every part of the nation.

This is the legacy of Swami Vivekananda to our nation; and this is the legacy which our country is trying to work out in the Andamans as well as in the mainland. And I hope that the people of these islands will catch this great spirit, a spirit which can really give us infinite strength and courage to face all difficulties and not to grumble at small difficulties here and there. The spirit of grumbling over difficulties is what makes us absolutely weak, and what destroys our efficiency. We shall face these difficulties, we shall face these hardships, but we shall see that a better world is left for our children to come.

8. *Conclusion*

That is the spirit of all progressive societies, and I am sure that the people of the Andamans, the new settlers, who are certainly facing certain problems of communication and getting consumer goods, etc., which are being tackled day by day with greater and greater success, will overcome these things by imbuing themselves with this spirit of the pioneer. It is man that conquers obstacles; man builds cultures and civilizations; man goes abroad; man goes outside space; that is the unconquerable spirit of man; and Swami Vivekananda is the greatest teacher of this philosophy of manliness. He spoke of the religion of manliness; he spoke of education for manliness. Let this manly spirit pervade these Islands—that is my prayer.

THE CHALLENGE OF FREEDOM

1. *Introductory*

I AM very thankful to the Indian Institute of Public Administration, Maharashtra Regional Branch, for inviting me to address you on a subject which is very challenging, viz., *The Challenge of Freedom*. My talk assumes a special significance because administration is a very important segment of our national life, perhaps much more important than what we realise.

2. *The Challenge of Freedom*

Political freedom is an altogether new experience for us in India today. For centuries, we were living under foreign subjection and political immobilisation, which created a sort of confusion in our minds and we were, therefore, not able to appreciate freedom when it actually came. We need to understand the implications of our freedom and the responsibilities it casts on us. Great teachers came to us in the modern period, who prepared us for this freedom. Their dedication over the last 150 years has played a vital role in shaping the national mind and preparing us to face the challenge of freedom. But our education is still not geared to national purposes. It continues to bear the impress of a pre-freedom atmosphere. It was conceived in terms of perpetuation of a foreign rule, and whatever little orientation we have given to it, has not removed some of its static features which we ought to remove in the interests of our national purposes and our national good. Therefore, one of the primary challenges of freedom today is the shaping of our education, so that it becomes an instrument

Based on the tape-recorded version of the lecture delivered at the Indian Institute of Public Administration, Maharashtra Regional Branch, at the Maharashtra Government Sachivalaya, Bombay, on 13th April, 1972.

of national advancement, of increasing the content of freedom and making it flow from the political to the economic and social fields. We have to make the people realise that freedom means not only liberty but also responsibility.

Freedom and responsibility are the twin aspects of citizenship in a free society; but we have not realised adequately the importance of responsibility in our functioning in independent India. Freedom without responsibility is something that is dangerous to freedom itself. There was a time when we could do whatever we liked because we had no responsibility. We could put all the blame on the foreign power and on the British Secretary of State in London. Today, there is nobody outside on whom the blame can be fastened. But this change is not understood and appreciated amongst the people of India. Therefore, the first great change that has to come over our horizon today is an awakening of the sense of responsibility that is involved in being members of a free community and a free nation. Responsibility immediately involves a type of activity and a type of behaviour which is meant to increase the content of freedom. Where that responsibility is lacking, you will find a sense of immaturity among the people. That sense of immaturity is present in several areas of national life today; but once responsibility comes to us, our freedom will become richer than what it is today.

3. *Citizenship and Responsibility*

The English word 'citizen' is a rich word. We have to understand its proper significance. As soon as a baby is born, it stands in a queue; when it is 21, it becomes a citizen of India, with a capacity to participate in national life. There is a desire today to lower the age of citizenship from 21 to 18, so that a larger section of the youth can get the capacity to vote and to take part in national and political life. I do hope that during the next five years, this will be accepted and legislated upon so that, in the next elections, we can have the 18-year olds also in the picture. But the most important thing for us to realise is, that merely standing in a queue and coming of age, physically speaking, does not automatically make for citizenship. Citizenship involves something much deeper, which comes by exercising responsibility. When I am put in charge of something,

I am responsible for it, and must take its consequences. This involves an education in mental maturity which we, as a nation, have yet to achieve in a big way. A few people who achieve it have brought us freedom and put the nation on the road of economic and other development; but, by and large, the people as a whole have yet to realise this maturity and achieve this sense of responsibility. This is writ large in our history of the last 25 years. Freedom which came to us after centuries of slavery should have created an ecstasy in our people, and we should really have moved faster in the wave of that ecstasy. Other nations progressed this way. Whenever they became free, a sort of national energy began to manifest itself; a sense of ecstasy came to the people and they began to achieve great things. We too have achieved great things; but compared to our sufferings and humiliations in the past, this freedom should have given us much greater inspiration to work hard and to achieve even greater things.

4. Hard Work Required

One of the things I see all over India is an incapacity to work hard. A sort of national laziness is lying heavily on us. We have not been able to shake off this sloth. And no nation can become great without hard work.

That is why our progress during the last 25 years has been less rapid than what it should have been, and could have been, if we had learnt to work hard. There is more talk than work in India, and I am sorry to say, this is true as much of the public outside as of the people within the secretariats or other institutions of government. Everywhere, there is less of work and more of talk.

This is something unique in India. I have not seen it elsewhere. When a man is at work, he is at work in every country in the world. Here, when we are at work, we are doing everything except work.

This kind of laziness, this cosiness, this unconcern with public responsibility, is writ large in the functioning of many of the offices of public and private enterprises in this country. That is something very deplorable because our nation is so backward economically and socially.

Many of us desire that it should come forward, but mere desiring will not do; we have to put the desire into effect, and that means hard work. So, in the secretariats, we must have more dynamism, more hard work, and more 'sense of commitment' as we use the word today.

Our Prime Minister uses the word again and again. Commitment does not mean commitment to any particular political ideology. It means commitment to the nation, commitment to the great responsibility involved in public administration today. Along with that commitment and that sense of responsibility, energies will come to the people, to the officers, and to the workers.

This is the type of energy we have to capture today—human energy pitted against human problems, overcoming these problems and putting the nation on the road of progress and prosperity. There is no magic other than this for taking the nation out of the depression which it has experienced for centuries together.

5. *The New Mantra*

That is why the great *Mantra* today is 'Work' and 'Hard Work'; along with work, intelligent work, along with intelligent work, cooperative team work. All great undertakings are the product of team work. We can meet the challenge of freedom only when we have learnt this character-efficiency involved in team work and intelligent hard work. This is the philosophy which we have to learn, and learn consciously, not unconsciously, somehow stumbling into it.

I saw in Japan, Germany, and America that their people work hard; they are energetic; they do not talk during the time of work, and they have a sense of self-respect, a sense of dignity. 'I am paid to work during the work time; therefore, let me discharge my responsibility; time is not to be wasted'—that is their attitude. I do not find this attitude in most places in India. We waste our time, and also public time, for which we are paid.

I have seen in our mighty Central Government secretariat at Delhi that much time is spent in chatting, gossiping, and tea-drinking. Any foreigner who comes to India is particularly

struck by this sluggishness of the administrative machinery. I have seen that this problem exists in a big way in various parts of India, though some states are much better than others. One such State is Maharashtra, another is Tamil Nadu and to some extent Kerala. Much better work is done in these States with much better dedication and efficiency. As compared to other States in India, these States may be better, but in comparison with the world at large, all of us are far below par. It is here that we have to make a new dedication; and that dedication does not come simply by salaries and allowances. It comes from something else that is lacking in this country. Salaries can go up; other allowances can go up; but what cannot go up, except through one's own effort, is that personal commitment to a great national adventure which makes everyone say to himself: 'I am a citizen of this nation. I have been un-free for centuries, but today I am free, which means I have a responsibility to my nation; I want to see it grow and develop.'

This sense of involvement that we are a part of the nation, that we are not only *in* it but also *for* it, immediately brings a new sense of energy which is very much lacking today. Our primary personality in India today should not be as a secretariat employee, or as a mere engineer or a doctor—our primary personality should be that of a citizen of India. If anybody asks you, 'Who are you?' you must answer, 'I am a citizen of free India'. Then if you are asked 'What are you doing?' you can say, 'I am an administrative officer, I am this and that.' Your primary responsibility as a citizen of free India can give inspiration to every other aspect of your personality.

6. *Motivation in Administration*

We never had the citizenship of free India before. All our ancient political states were centred in a king or an emperor or a commander-in-chief, or some such person. Today, we have founded a state on 'We, the people of India,' as our Constitution proudly proclaims. For the first time in our long history, the Indian state is founded on the people of India, derives strength from the people of India, and is meant to return back that strength hundredfold to the people of

India. There is neither king, nor emperor; and the sovereignty centred in the king, has become scattered in the millions of citizens when we declared ourselves as a republic. That is the republic of which we are the citizens today. With this awareness, we can amass a good deal of energy from within ourselves. Everyone can have this mighty energy, but the motives are lacking.

If there is any subject that must be constantly discussed today in the secretariats and all other departments of life, it is the subject of motivation. What motivation can make us work better? We have the foolish notion in India that money is the only worthwhile motivation; but beyond a certain limit, money does not bring in anything more than what one has given.

The only proper motivation for us is that we belong to this nation and do not want to see it destroyed. We have suffered much in the past and must now guarantee that this nation shall ever remain free and that its freedom shall be enhanced and brought to the millions of our people for whom it is just a name today. This attitude of commitment or involvement is what citizenship means. We have never had it in a big way in India. That is why we take everything easy and regard the nation's problems not as our problems, but rather as somebody else's problems.

Today, there is a democracy in our country but we must make it meaningful for the millions of our people by bringing to them the blessings of freedom. This can be done only through an efficient and responsive administrative apparatus, both at the Centre and in the States. Every individual member of this administrative apparatus must first become a true citizen and involve himself in the great activity of nation-building. This is the most important challenge that we have to face today.

7. *Imaginative Sympathy*

When I speak of involvement, when I speak of commitment, when I speak of the personnel of our administrative departments developing a greater sense of national responsi-

I have pondered over this question in my own mind and have also posed it in some of my lectures at the Secretariat Training School, Delhi, and elsewhere.

Working under the prosaic conditions of secretariat life, highly protected from external 'contaminations', we may become static, because we do not know how life is flowing around us. How can we change our attitude and feel a sense of dynamism within ourselves? How can we become involved in the national work?

The answer lies in the development of a new capacity within ourselves, to express which I have coined a new phrase—the capacity for *imaginative sympathy*.

As a citizen, I belong to the 550 million people of India, and I must feel the pulsations of their minds and hearts within myself. We used to criticise the British administration as something lacking in imagination. It was very efficient sometimes, but imaginatively it was very very poor. Today, we have to develop an imaginative sympathy so that we can become truly citizens performing the very important social function of administration.

The primary personality of an administrator should be as a citizen of India called upon to perform the particular function of administration, just like others performing other functions such as medical services, or nursing. When I become conscious of my citizenship and the responsibility it involves, I develop this imaginative sympathy.

How does it work? I am sitting in the secretariat in a closed airconditioned room where files come to me. These files contain problems and prospects of millions of people far and near. Every file speaks to me volumes of some suffering here and some suffering there, and I am sitting in a key position with responsibility to respond to these welfare problems. When I develop contact *imaginatively* with suffering persons far away, then new energy resources come to me. I cease to be a static entity, I become dynamic as a person. I am able to feel that dynamic flow of life around me and things start moving quickly. When there is a real sense of responsibility and a sense of imaginative sympathy in an officer, he thinks of the problems that come to him not in terms of the secretariat schedule only, but in terms of national urges and

aspirations in millions of people.

In many government departments, I have seen that salaries are not paid for months together, because the files do not move. How can a man live without his salary? But the attitude of the person responsible is, 'I do not care; it does not affect me. If something affects me I am very active. If it affects others, I am not concerned at all.' Such people really become a very heavy drag on the nation and on the administration. We are here sitting in centres of power, occupying chairs of responsibility. Our little work can make happiness available to people, or mar their happiness as well. If such is the situation, we must rise to the occasion. Here is a man who has retired after years of meritorious service. His pension papers are not ready. For one or two years, he has received no pension at all. How can a man live today without his pension? When you think in this way, your work becomes faster; suffering becomes less, and freedom becomes real. Freedom cannot become real to people unless they get the blessings of that freedom. The state is not some individual person.

A number of people are involved in the activities of the state, and some of them hold key positions of power. On them depends the real movement of the people outside, towards progress and prosperity, on the one hand, or towards defeat, suffering, and frustration, on the other. This responsibility must make them work harder and also with a greater sense of imaginative sympathy. *That is the new philosophy of work which we in India must capture.*

8. Public Spirit

There has been very little of public spirit in India. For centuries together, we have been essentially a self-centred people. Every man was unto himself and did not care what happened to others. Even in religion, we aimed only at individual salvation. Yet that is a wrong understanding of our philosophy. Our philosophy teaches the spirit of service and dedication, especially the great philosophy of the *Bhagavad Gītā*. But somehow or other, this philosophy did not inspire us. What inspired us was our own little self, our own selfish

interests, and our own advantages, so that 'everyone unto himself and the devil take the hindmost' became our policy. That is why we lost our freedom and for centuries remained in slavery. Out of that darkness and depression, we have been rescued by great thinkers and leaders who came to us during the last 150 years — thinkers like Raja Rammohan Roy and Swami Vivekananda in the last century and Tilak and Gandhiji in our own times. How many great men and women came and gave us a new vision and a new outlook! Today, each one of us must capture their philosophy so that we shall not remain static in the midst of the changing society of India.

9. *Be a Yogi*

As I said, it is the public spirit which immediately rescues a person from the limitations of his tiny little individuality. As an individual, I am here to earn my bread. But as soon as I become a part of the Indian administration, I cease to be a mere individual. That is the first great lesson we have to learn. When we become a part of the great flow of national life around us, we cease to be *individuals*; we become *persons*; and personality has no meaning except in the context of other personalities around us. This capacity to rise above the purely limited egoistic individuality into a larger awareness is the philosophy we need today.

I may be an ordinary person; but when I am a part of the great administration of India, I cease to be ordinary. On me depends the happiness and welfare of millions of the Indian people. I must rise to the occasion. That is the philosophy the *Gītā* has taught us:

तस्माद् योगी भवार्जुन.

'Therefore be a Yogi, O Arjuna!' exhorts the *Gītā*.

But the word *yogi* requires explanation, especially for us Indians, as it raises all sorts of peculiar ideas in our minds, all sorts of uncanny things. A *yogi* is one who does magic and miracles—that is the average understanding of an average

educated person. You have to banish all these ideas from your mind.

If there is one rich word which can inspire the whole of the Indian administration or any public activity in India, it is this word *yogi*. As long as you are concerned with your own little profit and pleasure, you do not have *yoga* at all. Animals do not practise *yoga*. Their interest lies only in profit and pleasure. It is only man who practises *yoga*, because his life takes him beyond the confines of his little individuality and brings him into association with the happiness and welfare of other people.

The philosophy which enables a person to rise above his limited individuality and sustains him in the realm of public activity is called *yoga* by the *Bhagavad Gītā*. 'I come here to earn my own living, because unless I work I cannot live. But once I am here it is not entirely my living that should be my consideration, because my position involves happiness of several others as well. I must take a wider view of my life and my action.' That kind of attitude is called *yoga* in the *Bhagavad Gītā*.

Kṛṣṇa tells Arjuna: 'This *yoga* is very ancient; it was started by the great kṣatriyas; but, in the course of time, it was lost—योगो नष्टः परंतप । I am teaching it again to you. Because you are my devotee, because you are such a fine person, I am imparting to you this very profound philosophy of *yoga*. With this philosophy you will ensure the happiness and welfare of millions of people':

स एवायं मया तेऽद्य योगः प्रोक्तः पुरातनः;
भक्तोऽसि मे सखा चेति रहस्यं ह्येतदुत्तमम्.

Commenting upon this verse in the 4th chapter of the *Gītā* Śrī Śaṅkarācārya asked: 'Why was this *yoga* lost? How was it lost?' And he answers:

दुर्बलान् अजितेन्द्रियान् प्राप्य योगो नष्टः

When this profound philosophy fell into the hands of weaklings and men without inner discipline, it became diluted and was lost.

That is what has happened in India. We diluted this philosophy and made it cheap. Religion for us has become just cheap nothing. There is absolutely no energy in it. We have lost the capacity to understand mighty ideas.

Physically weak, mentally weak, and without a strong will, we make a dilution of great philosophies, and ultimately destroy them. In order to understand the philosophy of the *Gītā*, we need strength of mind and a good deal of inner discipline; only then can we see the profound dimensions of this philosophy.

If men like Lokamanya Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi could feel the strength of the *Gītā*, it was because they had strength in themselves. Swami Vivekananda has said that a mosquito cannot understand the strength of a lion; only an elephant can understand it. When we are small like mosquitoes, how can we understand the strength that is there in this tremendous philosophy? When we develop an inner strength, when we cast away our narrow little minds and attitudes, only then can we capture the big and broad attitudes, and understand the great message of the *Bhagavad Gītā*, with freshness and vigour.

10. Efficiency in Administration

What is the nature of *yoga*? The *Bhagavad Gītā* says:

योगः कर्मसु कौशलम्.

‘Yoga is efficiency in action.’ That is a remarkable utterance, defining the scope of *yoga*.

The first thing that we have to do in India is to wipe out from our minds the idea that *yoga* means doing *prāṇāyāma*, or *Kuṇḍalinī*-awakening, or things like that. Our people are getting lost in these small things without understanding the broad vision of great master-minds like Kṛṣṇa and others.

Yoga is dexterity or efficiency in action. What does it mean? The first efficiency is what we call administrative efficiency, work efficiency, or technical efficiency. This is the type of efficiency which we are introducing in India today—more or less practical scientific efficiency. Wherever there is

such efficiency, you will find that ten rupees will produce results worth hundred rupees.

If you sanction a crore of rupees for a district, the Collector of the district must be able to produce ten times the amount sanctioned, by his own efficiency, by the efficiency of his fellow-workers. That is the meaning of the word 'efficiency' in modern scientific language. It is not the amount of money that is handled by man that makes for double, treble, or ten-fold production out of it. It is rather the human mind which is trained and geared to public purposes that enables one to produce tremendous results out of ordinary things.

Everywhere, new training courses are being conducted in India to increase this type of efficiency. A teacher is trained so that he may become a better teacher; a nurse is trained so that she may become a better nurse; an administrator is trained so that he may become a better administrator. Thus efficiency is the product of training.

But the training should be not only in the departmental manuals or in the working of the administrative apparatus, it must also inculcate a sense of dedication, a sense of commitment, a sense of high public motivation. These two together constitute efficiency in any particular field. I have seen nurses and doctors and teachers passing out of training institutions; yet there is not much increase in their efficiency, because their motivation is very very poor. Only when you have a national motivation, there can be an increase in efficiency.

11. Components of Efficiency

This type of efficiency, which is one of the constituents of *yoga*, is emphasised in the *Chandogya Upaniṣad*. In that upaniṣad, efficiency is defined in a very beautiful passage which says:

यदेव विद्यया करोति श्रद्धया उपनिषदा तदेव वीर्यवृत्तरं भवति.

The first component of efficiency is विद्या, i.e., knowledge of things or technical know-how of a particular subject. Then comes श्रद्धा, i.e. faith in oneself and faith in the cause for which one is working. Last comes उपनिषद्, i.e. deep thinking about a subject so that you can get the best out of it.

Vidyā, *śraddhā* and *upanīṣad*—these three things are necessary to increase efficiency in a particular field.

Technical know-how is thus only one aspect of efficiency. It cannot lead to maximum efficiency. Along with it, one must have *śraddhā* or faith in oneself. Swami Vivekananda placed the greatest emphasis on this quality.

This nation of ours needs to learn it much more than any other nation, because we have faith in everything except this primary faith in ourselves. We have faith in 33 crores of gods and goddesses, but they never came to our assistance. Swami Vivekananda said, first comes faith in oneself, then faith in others, and then faith in gods and goddesses. In the absence of the primary faith in oneself, the other faiths cannot function at all.

Swamiji gave the example of Clive in one of his lectures. A boy rejected in England was going to shoot himself but he was sent to India and he built an empire here. He had faith in himself as an Englishman and that is why he became an empire-builder. Everyone of us can do wonders if there is faith in oneself. Tell every child to have faith in itself, which is the foundation of character and the foundation of efficiency.

So *śraddhā* is very important. That *śraddha* is lost in India today; and it is a disease which has already cut into our body politic, destroying our hearts and minds. This want of *śraddhā*, this loss of seriousness, is what we call in English a cynical attitude. All the negative forces are implied in such a cynical attitude. At everything of value, we just scoff. We have nothing serious in our minds. Such a cynicism is worse than death. The Maharashtra State is trying to banish tuberculosis, leprosy, and other diseases. That is good enough; but the most serious disease which we have to combat is this disease of cynicism, due to which no great thing can come to a person.

Have faith in the nation, have faith in its destiny, and have faith in your own role in working towards that destiny. Such a faith can work wonders:

अज्ञश्च अश्रद्धानश्च संशयात्मा विनश्यति—

A man who is ignorant, without faith, and full of disbelief destroys himself, and also destroys others in the process.

That is why the second value of *śraddha* becomes very very important.

12. Thoughtfulness

Finally, one must cultivate *upaniṣad*, or thoughtfulness. Our country needs a lot of thinking today; but the one thing that we sacrificed after independence is 'thinking'. We take things in a cosy comfortable way. Independence came to us when we least expected it. So we sat back in our chairs and wanted to enjoy the fruits of freedom. The result was stagnation allround, until we were shot out of our self-complacency by the Chinese aggression and the Pakistani invasion.

Man progresses through thinking; and all great culture, like our own ancient culture, are the products of thought. Modern Western culture is also the product of profound scientific, social, and political thinking.

If this nation is to be great once again, it can be only through thinking, not through complacency. Much talk and little thinking was the policy we adopted after independence. We have to reverse it. Less talk, more thinking, and more work, should be our motto. Talking has actually been a great drawback among all of us in India, and even Swami Vivekananda mentions it in one of his lectures. He wanted less talk and more work which alone can elevate the nation. If you love your nation, show it by your action, not by talking all the time. By talking less, we stimulate thinking on the one hand and action on the other.

13. Instrument of National Service

If we want to energise our administration and give the people what is their due by way of economic betterment, education, social development, good culture and all the like, we have to change ourselves. We must become the instruments of the nation, not merely the instruments of self-will or self-purpose. This public spirit is generally lacking in our society. Along with it, the spirit of service must also be developed.

If a man comes from afar to a secretariat to get something done, how do we respond to him? All over India, I have seen

that we do not respond to him properly at all. In many departments of the secretariat, such a person is an unwanted person. He is not received with the words: 'What can I do for you?' Actually we should be at the service of the common man. We are not here to achieve public domination. We have converted our state into a state of service and we are here to serve the people. They are the masters. In election times, we treat them as masters, but, at other times, they are neglected. That is not real democracy. We have lost touch with the people. Today, we have to change our whole attitude.

The attitude of an administrator should be: 'I am here to help you. I am here to see that your life is better and better. This position of mine is only for that purpose.' Such a change of attitude can make for a new citizen and a new type of administration relevant to the conditions in India today.

Millions of people have been living in darkness and under oppression, social as well as political, for centuries together. Today, for the first time, we have established a state with the avowed intention of bringing happiness and cheer to the millions of our people. This is embodied in our Constitution, and it is the responsibility of the Central and State Governments to implement it.

I often quote from the *Raghuvamśam* while dealing with the political state today and its objective of a welfare society or a socialistic society. In that work, the great poet Kālidāsa says:

प्रजानामेव भूत्यर्थं स ताम्यो बलिमग्रहीत्;
सहस्रगुणमुत्सृष्टुमादत्ते हि रसं रविः

The kings of the Raghu line took taxes from the people only to return them thousandfold by way of beneficent welfare measures, just as the sun takes moisture from the earth only to return it thousandfold in the form of beneficial rain.

That is a beautiful description of a welfare state, which is so apt today in the context of our nation.

14. Proper Outlook

Ever since the First Five-Year Plan was launched, we have

been spending crores of rupees in investments so that they can give a tenfold, a hundredfold return in terms of national welfare. But, in this work, man plays a great part—from the village-level worker up to the top-most administrator. If he has not transformed himself in terms of the national urges, he may destroy the crores of rupees in the process of being transferred from hand to hand.

That is what is happening in India. Corruption is a word which we use very often today. It is a universal phenomenon. It speaks only of man's devaluation of himself. When I devalue myself, I become the subject of corruption; but when I revalue myself, when I recognise my own dignity, there can be no corruption. The other day, an Inspector-General of Police came to see me. I was discussing with him the question of ethical human personality. What does it mean? Here is a taxi driver taking a visitor across the city. That visitor forgets his wallet in the taxi. The wallet contains Rs. 10,000. The taxi driver gets the wallet. How does he react to this situation? One taxi driver may quietly take it home and use it for his own purposes, while another may immediately restore it to the person concerned. Between these two actions, you will find a world of difference between the outlook of the two persons. The first taxi driver thinks: 'I do not have plenty of money. But I need it and so I shall use this.' He thinks only of himself and his own welfare. He tells himself that he has a daughter to marry. The other taxi driver also gets the money, but he thinks: 'That man is in distress. He has earned his money; and he too has a daughter to marry. He will be in great trouble. I cannot use his money for myself. It does not belong to me.' He immediately restores the purse to the owner. Here you see human dignity at its best.

15. *Clever Animals*

We can divide society into two categories — real human beings and just clever animals. If a great number of people of the second type are produced in a nation, the nation goes down all the time. Honesty in administration comes from a sense of dignity among the individuals concerned. If I am to be the medium for rendering service to the people, I must change my

attitude. I must rise to the occasion. My philosophy must be adequate for the purposes for which I am here in this particular chair. That philosophy is *yoga*. I have power in my hands, but I must realise that this power is meant for millions and millions of people whose safety and welfare are in my hands. I must rise to the higher level of public responsibility.

When we are *yogis* in that sense, administration becomes quite all right and public welfare becomes ensured, through our activities. You may plough a field and water it, but if it contains rat holes, all the water will go away.

Similarly, if human beings constituting the administration become irresponsive to the people, irresponsive to a sense of national responsibility, insensitive to public ailments and grievances, they become destructive of the whole progress of the nation.

Yoga makes a man a new type of human being who possesses a heroic attitude and not the petty attitude of mere profit and loss. When I have the heroic attitude, I shall work for the good of all. This is the real spiritual growth of a person. The sooner our people understand that religion does not mean just a few rituals and chantings or running after magic and miracles, the better it will be. Religion means spiritual growth and the building up of character, which make a man go beyond his organic dimensions. That is *yoga* which Śrī Kṛṣṇa teaches in the *Bhagavad Gītā*.

16. *Raise Yourself*

While I express myself efficiently in my field of work, I must also grow spiritually side by side. That is the second type of efficiency which constitutes *yoga*—a man growing all the time in responsibility, in ethical sense, and in human concern. This type of an inner growth along with external efficient activity together constitutes the message of the *Bhagavad Gītā*:

तस्माद् योगी भवार्जुन.

Lord Kṛṣṇa will be happy to know that his message is being tested once more in India today, in the lives not only of

saints and sages, but of millions and millions of citizens of our country.

School masters, administrators, the Prime Minister—everyone is testing Lord Kṛṣṇa's message, making it real, making it vital. Each one says to the Lord: 'I want to be a true *yogi* by being a productive unit of the society, by growing spiritually beyond my organic dimensions, so that I may express character, and that efficiency which is called personality-efficiency.'

Work-efficiency and personality-efficiency—these two must grow side by side. These two together constitute the efficiency of the *Bhagavad Gītā*, the *yoga* of the *Bhagavad Gītā*.

When you are in the administrative service, you work hard, you make the nation march to progress by your work, by *yoga*; and as you grow in your years, you also grow spiritually. Something grows in you, something evolves as it were. That evolution will find expression in you when you grow old enough. You say to yourself: 'I occupy this chair, but I am not going to sit on it all the time. I shall go beyond it. I have developed an integral value within myself not dependent upon this chair.'

This human growth in quality is very very important today. Only yesterday, the Prime Minister referred to this aspect of qualitative improvement among Indians. That comes from true education and not from mere school education or book education. You educate yourself and raise yourself as Lord Kṛṣṇa says in the 6th chapter of the *Bhagavad Gītā*:

उद्धरेदात्मनात्मानं नात्मानमवसादयेत्;
आत्मैव ह्यात्मनो बन्धुरात्मैव रिपुरात्मनः—

You raise yourself by yourself, don't left yourself down. You are your own friend, and you are your own enemy.

This is the clarion call of Kṛṣṇa in the *Bhagavad Gītā*.

17. Conclusion

Today, in India, if we can put our nation on the road to qualitative improvement by our actions outside of us and inside of us, and by the double expression of efficiency, we shall have achieved a very great thing in the whole history of India.

For 5,000 years, we never had the political freedom which we have now. Today, we have an opportunity to bring happiness and cheer to millions of people in India and to become instruments for achieving national progress.

I often quote the famous exhortation of Kṛṣṇa in the 11th chapter of the *Bhagavad Gītā*.

तस्मात्त्वमुत्तिष्ठ यशो लभस्व
जित्वा शत्रून् भुङ्क्ष्व राज्यं समृद्धम्—

Therefore, you stand up, acquire the glory (of manhood) by overcoming your (thwarting) obstacles, and enjoy the fruit of national development.

That is the constant message of the Upaniṣads also:

उत्तिष्ठत जाग्रत—‘*Arise and awake.*’

Too long have we been lazy, too long have we been sleeping. This is not the time to sleep. This is not the time to weep. So many things have to be done. ‘Therefore, stand up’, says Kṛṣṇa, ‘acquire the glory of a human being. Overcome your enemies and then enjoy dominion in this great country of ours’.

Be a citizen of India, overcome the enemies of poverty, injustice and backwardness, build up the body and mind of India and enjoy the delights of citizenship. You are the participants in this great work. This is the counsel that Kṛṣṇa whispers to every citizen in India today, and particularly to those citizens who are called upon to be administrators, from the village level up to the highest administrative post in the States as well as at the Centre.

A NON-VIOLENT SOCIAL ORDER : PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

1. *Introductory*

IN March 1973, at the invitation of the Gandhi Peace Foundation, New Delhi, I gave the valedictory address at a workshop of the workers of the Foundation held at its headquarters in New Delhi to discuss, from various angles, the subject of *Social Responsibilities of Business* in the light of Gandhiji's concept of trusteeship. The Foundation had gathered varied material on the subject for the enlightenment of the participants of the workshop, which it is now publishing in the form of this small book, *Towards Trusteeship*, with a view to providing a source book for those interested in this field, either merely for its study, or for its study and implementation. To all such I am glad to recommend this book.

2. *Satya and Ahimsa in Society*

In his long life filled with outstanding work for the good of man everywhere, Gandhiji was moved by a double passion, namely, the ending of the centuries-long exploitation of man by man in his country and abroad and, as a necessary prelude to this, the achievement of political independence by India. Behind his work for India in these fields lay the strength and wisdom gained by him from his *Satyagraha* experiments and experiences in South Africa. And all these experiments and experiences were flavoured by the twin spiritual values of *Satya* and *Ahimsa*—truth and non-violence or love.

These are the central motivation forces in Indian culture, according to Swami Vivekananda, though not adequately realised

in her society, and he considered the modern age as the era for their social implementation (*The Complete Works*, Vol. IV, Eighth Edition, p. 352):

India will be raised, not with the power of the flesh, but with the power of the spirit; not with the flag of destruction, but with the flag of peace and love.

And again (*ibid.*, Vol. 11, Ninth Edition, pp. 84-85):

Truth does not pay homage to any society, ancient or modern. Society has to pay homage to truth or die. Societies should be moulded upon truth and truth has not to adjust itself to society... That society is the greatest, where the highest truths become practical. That is my opinion; and if society is not fit for the highest truths, make it so; and the sooner, the better. Stand up, men and women, in this spirit, dare to believe in the truth, dare to practise the truth! The world requires a few hundred bold men and women.

Gandhiji died within six months of his country's achievement of political independence on 15 August 1947. He had no opportunity, therefore, to use his country's political freedom to guide and discipline and direct the vast energies released by its freedom struggle, and the idealism, enthusiasm, and dedication of his large army of non-violent workers, into the constructive channels of his first and primary passion, namely, the steady evolution of a non-violent social order in India and abroad, of which his trusteeship concept in business and industry formed an integral part.

Though Gandhiji could not live to see the initiation of a collective effort for the realization of the 'India of his dreams', he has left a rich legacy, both of ideals and ideas and something of their technical know-how, as valuable guidelines, as much to the coming generations of his countrymen as to fellow human beings abroad, who would be moved to think and act by something of the same human passion that had exploded in him in the second half of his life.

3. *Post-freedom Socio-economic Trends*

The state and governments in post-independence India have been working towards the same goals, but through paths of socio-economic policy and programme far removed from his, and chosen, by the compelling force of circumstances, out of the two competing contemporary Western ideologies of capitalism and communism, with a clear leaning to the programmes of the latter, while clearly distrusting the policies and ideologies of both. In this left-ward orientation which, in effect, is tending merely towards a form of state capitalism, our governments have received increasing endorsement and support from the general public at the successive Union and State elections.

But, after twenty-six years of independence, and with not a mean record of achievements in some areas of national development, there is widespread disenchantment among large sections of our people about the capacity of our state's present socio-economic policies and programmes to achieve the nation's socio-economic goals of the ending of poverty on the one side, and all forms of human exploitation on the other. And this disenchantment has been further accentuated by the continuing spurt in prices of essential commodities, especially in a context of widespread corruption, bribery, and administrative inefficiency, resulting in much suffering for the common people.

In spite of all this, if the people still continue to vote for, and support, the state's takeover of private enterprises one after another, it is more out of a distrust of all private enterprises, and of the power of private capital behind them, than due to any faith in the state enterprises as such which, it is now recognized widely, have shown no efficiency either in production or in distribution, or in inspiring their own comparatively better paid employees, including labour, with a spirit of national commitment and patriotic dedication. Never before has the power and functioning of mere profit-oriented private enterprise been looked down upon by our people as we see it today. This public estimate of private business enterprise was given voice and force when Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi, in an address to businessmen and industrialists a few years ago, sarcastically characterized

private enterprise in India as more *private* than *enterprise!*

4. *Recent Hopeful Trends*

It is heartening to find, however, that the people behind our private sector industries and business have themselves begun to realize that their image has become so much tarnished in the people's minds that trust in them has all but vanished, that no more are they the *mahājan*, big-minded trustworthy men, that they were considered to be. This recognition has begun to have a wholesome effect on some of the progressive individuals and groups among them who are convinced that the only way to improve their image, and regain the people's confidence, is to make their business and industry more and more *service-oriented* instead of being merely *profit-oriented*, inspired by the idea of the social responsibilities of all business and industry.

Accordingly, one of the more hopeful signs on the otherwise dismal socio-economic horizon of present-day India, during the past few years, is the prominence that this vital theme of *Social Responsibilities of Business and Industry* is assuming, giving rise to increasing discussion on the subject in conferences and seminars by businessmen, industrialists, administrators, and social workers.

Side by side with this healthy awakening, there is also another hope-inspiring phenomenon in the active revival and propagation of Gandhiji's concept of trusteeship by some of the members of the various constructive work movement drawing inspiration from him and the initiation, under their guidance of implementation measures of this trusteeship principle in selected areas of industry and business. It is heartening to find that this phenomenon, independently or otherwise, is taking place in some of the western countries as well.

5. *Gandhiji on the Trusteeship Concept*

Writing in the *Harijan* of 31 March 1946, on the eve of Indian independence, Gandhiji said:

Supposing India becomes a free country tomorrow, all the capitalists will have an opportunity of becoming statutory

trustees. But such a statute will not be imposed from above. It will have to come from below. When the people understand the implications of trusteeship and the atmosphere is ripe for it, the people themselves, beginning with *Grām Panchayats*, will begin to introduce such statutes. Such a thing coming from below is easy to swallow. Coming from above, it is liable to prove a dead-weight.

Writing in the *Harijan* still earlier, in its issue for 16 December, 1931, Gandhiji uttered this note of warning:

As for the present owners of wealth, they would have to make their choice between war and voluntarily converting themselves into trustees of their wealth. They would be allowed to retain the stewardship of their possessions and to use their talent to increase the wealth, not for their own sake, but for the sake of the nation and, therefore, without exploitation. The state would regulate the rate of commission which they would get commensurate with the service rendered and its value to society. Their children would inherit the stewardship only if they proved their fitness for it.

6. *Social Responsibility: Its Wide Range and Scope*

The concept of social responsibility, it is important to note, has a far wider reference than to industry and business. It enshrines an ethical value or *dharma* which is basic to all social health and human wellbeing, and is the source, along with individual freedom, of all other citizenship virtues and graces. These alone can impart quality to human life and integrate man with man to constitute a society, like cement integrating brick with brick to form the integrated structure of a building. It is a value, therefore, that must brighten the life and work of every individual, and not only of men in business and industry—teacher or student, farmer or artisan, politician or administrator, legislator or minister, industrial executive or labourer, doctor or nurse, lawyer or engineer, or a simple housewife.

Out of this sense of responsibility alone arises a sense of duty, of punctuality, of mutual trust and obligation, efficiency

and a capacity for hard work, and a sense of dedication and service. The onset of these virtues in varying degrees, through the stimulation, in the context of a sense of personal freedom of one's sense of social responsibility, is what makes for *citizenship* in a democracy. A citizen in a democracy is not one who only lives *in* a democratic society, but also *for* that society; he is not only a *free* individual, but also a *responsible* individual. The combination of the twin values of *personal freedom* and *social responsibility* in a man or woman gives us the *democratic citizen* who is the finest product of social evolution.

It is painfully evident today that, since our independence, we failed to produce, in adequate numbers, men and women of this type, but also succeeded in manufacturing, and turning out on a mass scale, in every department of our national life, the opposite type, which *demand*ed and secured freedom without corresponding responsibility, rights without corresponding duties, and monetary gains either without putting in a day's honest work or through various anti-social practices. This has resulted in the dangerous tilting, to one side, of the ship of our nation and the imminent fear of national disaster. It needs to be brought back on even keel. And no society can move on an even keel without a healthy balancing of freedom with responsibility and rights with duties. The nation has done well in this direction by focussing its attention today on the social responsibility of business and industry; but it must treat it only as an initial first step, to be followed by other similar steps with respect to all other areas of national life as well.

7. *Evolution : Organic versus Psycho-social*

And twentieth century biology tells us today that this is the true line of human evolutionary advance; that *organic* evolution of the pre-human phase has risen to the *psycho-social* evolution of the human phase; that, in virtue of the evolution of the cerebral organ in him and the resulting capacity for thinking, reasoning, speech communication, and for other similar mental activities, man can not only *experience* life, but can also store his experiences in literature and art, science and religion, philosophy and myths, and other material and mental products of his experiences, to create the uniquely human phenomenon

called *culture*, which biogology therefore calls *cumulative experience*.

These new developments endow every new-born human child with a new, unique, and resilient inheritence, namely, the *cultural*, over and above the largely static and fixed *genetic* inheritance which it shares with all the pre-human species. With the appearance of this new cultural inheritance in man, evolution not only rises from the erstwhile genetic to that new dimension, namely, the psycho-social, but also becomes judged by a new criterion, namely, *quality*, as different from the criterion of *quantity* relevant to the organic evolution of the pre-human phase and which now becomes secondary. Parallel to this, there now emerges, more distinctly, the values of mutual aid and cooperation as by-products of, and as stimulus to, that psycho-social evolution, in place of 'competition', 'struggle for existence', and 'survival of the fittest' reigning largely at that pre-human phase.

With the emergence of man and the onset of psycho-social evolution, evolution becomes self-aware and free in nature's finest product, namely, man, instead of continuing in its erstwhile blind, wasteful, and slow course. With the help of the organic capacities which mother nature has endowed him with, and deliberately training these capacities and increasing their range and power, quantitatively and qualitatively, through that unique and life-long process called *education*, man becomes capable to take over his evolution from the hands of mother nature, to define and clarify the direction of his evolutionary movement, to set his goals through exercising his nature-given capacity for far-sight and fore-sight, to select and adapt, correct and modify his paths, and achieve, not just the triple benefits of organic satisfactions, numerical increase, and organic survival, which biology today considers as secondary at the human phase and relevant as primary only at the pre-human phase, but also, what it now discovers as the new direction of evolution at its human or psycho-social phase, namely, *fulfilment*.

Thomas Huxley, Darwin's close collaborator and interpreter, had shown in the last century, in his *The Struggle for Existence in Human Society* and *Prolegomena to Evolution and Ethics*, that evolution at the human stage involves not 'the struggle for existence and survival of the fittest', but the 'making

of as many as possible fit to survive', and thus involves also 'the repudiation of the gladiatorial theory of existence', even though the biology of his time could find nothing in nature or man to rationally account for that repudiation. This left social philosophers of the time free to construct various contractual social theories based on mere *self-interest*, including *enlightened self-interest*.

8. *Psycho-social Evolution and Ethical and Spiritual Values*

But biology in this twentieth century, in the light of a century of revolutionary advances, is tending in the direction of freeing man, as its sister science of twentieth century physics has already done, from his materialistic, mechanistic, and hedonistic strait-jackets and of restoring to him his spiritual integrity and destiny. For, with the onset of psycho-social evolution, ethical and spiritual values not only appear on the horizon of evolution, but they become also crucial. This truth is highlighted in a lecture on 'The Evolutionary Vision' given by Sir Julian Huxley at the week-long conference of scientists that met at the Chicago University in 1959 and discussed, from various angles, the general theme of *Evolution after Darwin* (*Evolution After Darwin*, Vol. III, Chicago University Press, 1960, p. 251) :

Man's evolution is not biological but psycho-social; it operates by the mechanism of cultural tradition, which involves the cumulative self-reproduction and self-variation of mental activities and their products. Accordingly, major steps in the human phase of evolution are achieved by breakthroughs to new dominant patterns of mental organization, of knowledge, ideas, and beliefs—ideological instead of physiological or biological organization.

And, stressing the uniqueness of man, he said further (*ibid.*, p. 252):

Man is therefore of immense significance....He is the reminder of the existence, here and there, in the quantitative vastness of cosmic matter and its energy equivalents, of

a trend towards mind with its accompaniment of quality and richness of existence—and what is more, a proof of the importance of mind and quality in the all-embracing evolutionary process.

And, presenting the new concept of *fulfilment* as the aim of human evolution and criticizing the prevalent view that organic satisfactions are the be-all and the end-all of human life, he said (*ibid.*, p. 259):

But like population explosion, this consumption explosion cannot continue much longer; it is an inherently self-defeating process. Sooner, rather than later, we must get away from a system based on artificially increasing the number of human wants and *set about constructing one aimed at the qualitative satisfaction of real human needs, spiritual and mental as well as material and physiological. This means abandoning the pernicious habit of evaluating every human project solely in terms of its utility—by which the evaluators mean its material utility and, especially, its utility in making a profit for somebody.*

Once we truly believe (and true belief, however necessary is rarely easy) that man's destiny is to make possible greater fulfilment for more human beings and fuller achievement by human societies, utility in the customary sense becomes subordinate. Quantity of material production is, of course, necessary as the basis for the satisfaction of elementary human needs—but only up to a certain degree. More than a certain number of calories or cocktails or TV sets or washing machines per person is not merely unnecessary but bad. *Quantity of material production is a means to a further end, and not an end in itself.* (italics not by Huxley).

9. *Needed : A Science of Human Possibilities*

Discussing this new concept of 'fulfilment' in his essay on The Emergence of Darwinism, Huxley says (*ibid.*, Vol. 1: *The Evolution of Life*, p. 20) :

In the light of our present knowledge, man's most comprehensive aim is seen not as mere survival, not as numerical

increase, not as increased complexity of organization, or increased control over his environment, but as greater fulfilment—the fuller realization of more possibilities by human species collectively and more of its component members individually.

And pleading for the development of a new science—a *science of human possibilities*, Huxley concludes (*ibid.*, p. 21):

Once greater fulfilment is recognized as man's ultimate or dominant aim, we shall need a science of human possibilities to help guide the long course of psycho-social evolution that lies ahead.

It is such a *science of human possibilities* that the *Gītā*, basing itself on the universal spiritual vision of the *Īśā Upaniṣad*, develops in its science and technique of a comprehensive spirituality which it calls yoga—a science of integrated human development—defining this term yoga, in its very second chapter, as *Karmasu Kauśalam*—‘efficiency in actions’—the twin achievement of an *outward productive efficiency* in various fields of human life and work, conducive to *abhyudaya* or collective human welfare and an *inward personality efficiency*, conducive to *niḥśreyasa* or spiritual freedom.

10. *Psycho-social Evolution as Spiritual Growth*

This is the double fruit of what biology calls psycho-social evolution and what Vedanta calls *spiritual growth*. And Vedanta considers all ethical and aesthetic values as by-products of man's spiritual growth. An understanding of the nature and significance of this spiritual growth of man, of growth in his spiritual dimension, over and above his obvious physical growth and less obvious mental growth, is going to be highly rewarding for man everywhere, in the modern age, in his quest for quality and richness in his individual and collective life.

Man's physical growth is achieved through physical food or nourishment and exercise. His mental growth is achieved through education, through the acquisition of knowledge, primarily about the surrounding world and partly about himself. This

constitutes his mental food and nourishment, the fruit of which is a measure of fearlessness, self-confidence, and strength, and a consequent grip on the world around and on oneself. A village child is timid and without self-confidence; but after a few days at school, he gains in alertness and confidence in himself. This develops in him an awareness of his own individuality, of his own individual identity and destiny, whereas, previously, he was just an item in a human mass. This is the significant fruit of all secular education, the rescuing of the spirit of man from its submergence in the collectivity. This mental growth can continue through the further pursuit of knowledge in the same line until, in course of time, he may become a giant of intellect or a giant of will.

Indian thought considers these two dimensions of human growth as *necessary* but not as *sufficient*. It discovers a third dimension of human growth, most vital and significant, but least recognized and understood in modern concepts of human development without which the other two, by themselves, will as well be a gamble, will as well prove man's undoing, will tend to make him use his knowledge and power to exploit others more efficiently than in his state of ignorance, will tend to make his search for fulfilment tragically end up in unfulfilment and frustration, not only for himself but also for his society. In short, it will produce a type of men and women who will be mental giants but moral pigmies, who will not be men but *mānava raksasās* or demons among men.

Hence the importance of that third dimension of human growth, namely, the spiritual, which finds its initial expression in, and gets stimulated in turn by, ethical awareness and social feeling, and their fruits of a sense of social responsibility and the mood, temper, and acts of service, and which finds its consummation, in the language of Vedānta, in the steady expansion of his awareness of his limited self into the awareness of the Atman, the infinite and universal Self of all.

11. *The Philosophy of Service*

It is the onset of this spiritual growth, of this psycho-social evolution, that enables a man or woman to *communicate* with other men or women, to dig one's affections in others and

evoke from others the same with respect to oneself. This at once registers a profound change in man's attitude to his social environment.

Every human being lives in two external environments, namely, the natural and the social or the human. Bereft of spiritual growth, man treats himself as the subject and everything in these two environments as *objects*. He treats himself as the only focus of value, and as the only end-value, and treats all other things and beings around him as objects, as means to subserve his interests. This attitude is perfectly valid with respect to the natural objects, and that, too, only up to the point where the delicate ecological balance between man and nature remains undisturbed. *But when he extends the application of this policy from the natural objects to the social objects in his environment, he commits a serious ethical blunder; for he then becomes the exploiter of his fellow human beings.* He then treats his wife as an *object*, his children as *objects*; his employees and other human beings also as objects. Such a man is an abstract entity; no real human being is entirely and always so; yet, this consideration helps to highlight the human transition from exploitation to service; it shows us that the tendency to *exploit* other human beings proceeds from a wrong attitude and assessment, from a failure to recognize the distinctiveness of the social environment from the natural environment.

Wherein does this distinctiveness lie? It lies in the unique fact that other human beings constituting that social environment are not just *objects*, are not just extensions of that natural environment, but are *subjects* like himself. Ethics, therefore, asks man to detach himself from his limited physically conditioned self or ego and view his social environment as it is in itself, and not what his ego dictated him to do in its own narrow self-interest. When he does so, he discovers that the social environment consists not of *objects* but of *subjects* like himself. This is the discovery that led man to whatever culture and civilization he has attained so far, that led him onward on the specifically human road of evolution, namely, psycho-social evolution. *Ethical attitude, therefore, can be defined as the recognition of a subject in a social object.* With the further development of this attitude, man learns to

treat all non-human living things also more and more as ends in themselves and not merely as means.

This at once involves a revolutionary change in inter-human relationship. Whereas, previously, as objects, man tended only to *exploit* other human beings; just as he exploited his houses, furniture, rivers, mountains, mines, minerals, and other items in his natural environment, now, as *subjects*, with ends of their own, he tends to *serve* them and *help* them to realize their own ends. Each man thus becomes, at the same time, the means and the end with respect to the social environment, revealing, as expressed by the *Gītā*, the truth of the mutuality and inter-dependence of that social environment: *parasparam bhāvayantaḥ śreyah param avāpsyatha*—‘by mutually nourishing each other, may you all attain the highest welfare’.

This is the shining truth that humanity, barring a minority of the ethically sensitive, has failed to realize and act upon from the very beginning of human history. But international conditions in the modern age are ripe with the possibility of its recognition and social implementation in India and the rest of the world.

12. *Our Enormous Spiritual Assets*

It is in this thought-context that we have to view our problems of human development and inter-human relationships in general, and employer-employee relations in particular, in our country today and initiate programmes and policies—political and economic, educational and social—meant to achieve the national goals of a society freed from all forms of human exploitation and providing the proper venue and stimulus to the integrated development of all its human population. We have to convert India, in short, into a vast anthropological laboratory of human development for a seventh of the human race.

Our nation has a rich reservoir of visions and ideas and inspiration to draw upon to successfully undertake this mighty task. In this field at least, unlike in some other fields, it is true to say, that our nation is starving in the sight of plenty. This spiritual nourishment is available to our people in the tested and perennial elements of our own philosophical and

spiritual heritage from the past, in the energetic and pervasive human orientation given to that heritage in the modern period of our history by our great teachers and exemplars such as Sri Ramakrishna, Swami Vivekananda, and Mahatma Gandhi, and in the dynamic and universal, humanistic and scientific, elements in the modern Western heritage.

When our nation avails of these spiritual resources and, strengthened thereby, achieves its social goals even partially, in the coming decades, our sound mixed economy policies and programmes of today, will yield three healthy segments, namely, the state or public sector enterprises, comprising all the commanding heights of the economy, trusteeship enterprises comprising the medium and small-scale enterprises, and a very large sector of small-scale, self-employed, and truly private enterprises.

13. *Individuality to Grow into Personality*

But that bright prospect depends upon only one condition, namely, more and more of our people achieving, at least, the first stages of their psycho-social evolution, of their spiritual growth, by which their organically conditioned and limited ego, their 'unripe' ego or 'I', in the words of Sri Ramakrishna, will grow and expand into the 'ripe' ego or 'I'; through a life-education above the narrowly conceived secular level, which will teach them to do all work in the spirit of service. This is 'finding (true) life after losing (one's false) life', in the words of Jesus. 'All expansion is life, all contraction is death', says Swami Vivekananda. The 'unripe' ego is the false ego, the exploiting ego; it has to be transcended before ethical life can begin for man.

The first education of every new-born child is obviously the strengthening of its ego, its 'unripe' ego, which is the focus of its individual identity, and which it had not prior to its birth and even up to about two and a half years after its birth. This strengthening of its organically conditioned ego with the freedom and dignity of individuality is the essential first step in its education; *but only the first step*; it must be followed by the second and subsequent steps; otherwise, it will only distort the human psyche and the social situation. A narrowly conceived secular education, ensuring only mental or intellectual growth, and conferring on man the power of knowledge, with or without other

powers like wealth or authority, only results in accentuating these distortions by strengthening this individuality. For, individuality centred in the 'unripe' ego, in the words of Bertrand Russell, is like a billiard ball whose only relationship with another billiard ball is—*collision*. A billiard ball cannot *enter into* another billiard ball. But we want our children, we want all men and women, to develop the capacity to *enter into*, and *be entered into by*, other children, other men and women. This is the capacity to *communicate* with each other, to love each other, to serve each other, *to work in a team* with others and *to trust* each other. No mere mental growth can produce these virtues and graces; and without these, all human life becomes bereft of the richness of quality. Mere mental growth, even the highest of it, can coexist with much rascality in an individual. Hence the importance of that third dimension of human growth, namely, the spiritual, the psycho-social, *whereby individuality grows and expands into personality*, whereby the 'unripe' ego grows and expands into the 'ripe' ego. With this growth, *the freedom of individuality flowers into the maturity of responsibility and fructifies into the mood and temper and acts of service*. These then become spontaneous and natural, like a rose sending out in waves its sweet scent. Without this further growth into personality, individuality, established in, and jealous of, its own freedom and dignity, tends to injure and destroy the freedom and dignity of other individuals around. Established in the freedom, dignity, *and responsibility* of personality, man always tends to protect and enhance the freedom and dignity of other men and women around. And individuality, stagnant at its own level and not grown even a little into personality, becomes soon 'over-fried' individuality, which is ever a focus of tension and unfulfilment within itself and without.

The terms 'person' and 'personality' and 'individual' and 'individuality' which are often used interchangeably in common speech, become indicators of two distinct stages of human development, in the latest precise language of science. As defined by Julian Huxley ('Introduction' to *The Phenomenon of Man*, by Teilhard de Chardin, p. 20) :

Persons are individuals who *transcend* their merely organic individuality in *conscious social participation*.

That the 'unripe' ego of individuality is to be transcended, and that if the aesthetic, ethical, and spiritual possibilities lying hidden in man is to be manifested, is the common verdict, as much as of Vedanta, Buddhism, and other higher religions of the world, as of modern physical science. The ego, in the words of *The Science of Life*, the voluminous digest of modern biological knowledge by H.G. Wells, G.P. Wells and Julian Huxley, in its section dealing with its status in evolution (p. 878):

May be one of nature's devices, a convenient provisional delusion of considerable strategic value.

In our own Sanskrit and Hindi languages, if the term *vyakitva* stands for 'individuality', then the term *vikasita vyakittva*, in the light of the precise scientific definition given above, will have to be used for the term 'personality', to indicate the value of *atma-vikas* that emerges with it.

Accordingly, our education has to aim to raise our people, not only from their submergence in the collectivity of tribe and caste, etc., to the freedom and dignity of individuality, but also from that individuality to the maturity and responsibility of personality. Freedom without a sense of responsibility makes for psychic immaturity; and responsibility without freedom makes for ineffectiveness. Freedom is the first condition of human growth, says Swami Vivekananda. The freedoms granted and guaranteed by our democratic and republican constitution to all our people can be preserved, nourished, and enhanced only when our education, institutional and non-institutional, helps our people to achieve the maturity and responsibility of personality through the freedom and dignity of individuality.

14. Legislation versus Education

Since our independence, we have depended too much on legislation, and too little on education, to change men and society. Legislation that has aimed at, and brought about far-reaching structural changes in our society, has left most of our men and women unchanged, and even as a drag on our dynamic social situation. In reply to the questions put by the

representative of the London *Sunday Times* on India's mission in the modern world, in 1896, Swami Vivekananda said (*The Complete Works*, Vol. V, Seventh Edition, pp. 192-93):

The basis of all systems, social or political, rests upon the goodness of men. No nation is great or good because Parliament enacts this or that, but because its men are great or One must admit that law, government, politics are phases not final in any way. There is a goal beyond them where no law is needed.

15. *Static Piety versus Dynamic Spirituality*

What we have to achieve, in the coming decades, are social changes, on a revolutionary scale, backed by healthy attitudinal changes in our people. The latter will comprise, among many other things, *a little less obsession with wealth and property combined with a little more concern with man*. This obsession can co-exist, has co-existed, in our people, especially with our people in business and industry, with a static piety, often noisy, ostentatious, and a-social if not anti-social; but this cannot coexist with a dynamic spirituality. Such static piety is not true religion which, according to its Vedantic definition given by Swami Vivekananda, is the manifestation of the divinity already in man. Such piety is better termed 'piety-fringed worldliness'. Life in the world is not the same as worldliness or being worldly. All worldliness is evil, as it makes for the stagnation of the psychic energy at the organic level. When Vedanta and other religions condemn *saṁsāra* or worldliness, the reference is to this stagnation, which is much movement with no ethical or spiritual progress. But the world, or life in the world, is not evil. As beautifully clarified by Sri Ramakrishna:

Live in the world, live in *saṁsāra*, there is no harm in that. But allow not *saṁsāra* or worldliness to live in you; for that will make for stagnation, and a crop of other evils arising from it, such as self-centredness, jealousy, exploitation, incapacity to work in a team, and litigiousness. A boat will be on the water, for that is the correct place for

the boat; but water should not be in the boat, for, that is the wrong place for the water and will make the boat stagnant and unfit for the purpose for which it is meant.

16. *Tena Tyaktena Bhuñjīthāḥ*

This is the true meaning of *tyaga* or renunciation—the renunciation of the ‘unripe’ ego of individuality and growth into the ‘ripe’ ego of personality. A little advance on this road of psycho-social evolution, of spiritual growth, by our people today, by which they will expand and become capable of encompassing other psyches in society in love and sympathy and human concern, will yield an enormous fund of creative and positive human energy resources, which alone, and not just the enormous crores voted and spent in our successive five year plans, can help to lead the nation to the realization of its goal of a free, non-exploitative, non-violent social order. *Svalpamapyasya dharmasya trayāte mahato bhayat*—‘A little of this *dharma* saves one from great fear’ assures our *Gītā*. This is the message of the *Īśā Upaniṣad* exhortation: ‘*tena tyaktena bhuñjīthāḥ*—enjoy (life) through that renunciation’, which has inspired Gandhiji and other leaders of modern India. Our people have now to learn that this leaving aside the ‘unripe’ ego and manifesting the ‘ripe’ ego is true renunciation, and not the mere giving up of one’s wife or husband, or of some item or items of this food or that; for, out of the former alone come spiritual growth and its fruits of social responsibility and spirit of service, but not out of the latter. Hence proclaims Swami Vivekananda (*The Complete Works*, Vol. V, seventh edition, p. 228):

The national ideals of India are renunciation and service. Intensify her in those channels, and the rest will take care of itself.

17. *Conclusion*

Trusteeship in business and industry, and many other creative ideas and projects, including the establishment of a non-violent social order, of which they form integral parts, will

become realised in society when men and women become even dimly aware of the immense spiritual possibilities that lie hidden within them. Highlighting this central Vedantic truth, Swami Vivekananda sends his exhortation to all men and women (*ibid.*, Vol. III, eighth edition, p. 193) :

Teach yourselves, teach every one his real nature. Call upon the sleeping soul and see how it awakes. Power will come, glory will come, goodness will come, purity will come, and everything that is excellent will come when this sleeping soul is roused to self-conscious activity.

And echoing this same Vedantic truth, and striking a hopeful note, Gandhiji wrote in the *Harijan* of 25 August 1940 :

In this age of wonders, no one will say that a thing or an idea is worthless because it is new. To say it is impossible because it is difficult is again not in consonance with the spirit of the age. Things undreamt of are daily being seen, the impossible is ever becoming possible. We are constantly being astonished these days at the amazing discoveries in the field of violence. But I maintain that far more undreamt of and seemingly impossible discoveries will be made in the field of non-violence.

ETHICS OF A MODERN CORPORATION

1. *Introductory*

I AM drawn to groups such as this by my interest in seeing the pervasive spread of the service motive in our country—an interest derived from my close study, from my boyhood, of Swami Vivekananda's contribution to the building up of a free, egalitarian, and progressive body-politic in modern India.

In the context of the prevailing climate of industrial, political, and general discipline in our country today, it would be appropriate if we discuss, on an occasion like this, the ethical and human basis and direction of our industrial, financial, and business enterprises.

Ever since the modern industrial revolution set in, man has been more often discussing only the *economics* of a business or industrial enterprise. But contemporary national and international conditions demand the recognition and appreciation of the *ethics* of such enterprises as well, over and above its obvious economic aspects. This is but the counterpart of the modern political state getting transformed from a mere law and order police state to a welfare state. This distinguished gathering, representing a wide spectrum of management, government, workers, and distinguished citizens, provide a stimulating *milieu* for a discussion of this important theme.

2. *Modern Industrial Enterprises: A Brief History*

Before the onset of the modern Industrial Revolution in England in the 18th century, all over the world, industry was just a domestic enterprise. That Revolution introduced, for the first time in history, the Factory System of production. In the early phase of this system, however, there was not much

Speech delivered on the occasion of the inauguration of The Second Slurry Explosives Plant at the IDL Chemicals, Limited, Hyderabad, on 25th July, 1976.

separation of work and worker from home. But the beginning of the present century saw the final separation of home and work, arising from the facilities of rapid transport and large factory establishments. Many modern writers have stressed this as the main cause of the mechanisation and de-humanisation of the worker by modern industry. In the words of George Goyder (*Responsible Worker*, p. 24):

The world we lost as a result of the Revolution was the world of emotional security based on the home and its human ties.

Added to this factor was the dominant profit motive of modern industry in the interest of the investor and the shareholder, where the worker became a commodity to be hired and fired in the interests of the profits to the capitalist investor. This dominance of the profit motive in modern industry carried high prestige arising from the stress on it by leading economists from Adam Smith onwards. In the early phase of modern industry, this dominant profit motive, while revolutionising production, with its competitive aims and methods, also exploited and debased the increasing number of workers who were drawn to it as wage earners.

3. *The Trade Union Movement: A Brief History*

The modern trade union movement all over the world is the product of the early struggles of industrial workers in England to combine, with a view to resisting this exploitation by the capitalists. In its early phase, this struggle was fierce and long, for the law was against all such moves by the workers to unite against the capitalist. The Combination Act of 1799 made all such moves by workers, such as calling a meeting or attending a meeting to discuss raising of wages, shortening of hours, the collection or contribution of money for such meetings, or declining to work, offences under the law punishable by imprisonment. These were the dismal conditions under which the efficient modern industrial system progressed.

It took 26 years of hard struggle by the workers to win, in 1826, the right to organise themselves within the law. Another

fifty years passed before the workers acquired, in 1875, the legal right for collective bargaining. By the end of the World War II the trade union movement, in all industrially advanced countries, had become well-established, and workers' rights had become protected by law. These developments were also assisted by the establishment of the proletarian States, through political revolutions, in USSR and other countries.

4. *Profit Motive in Industry: Its Evils*

The trade union movement was a counter-challenge thrown to the dominant profit motive of the capitalist. That challenge, however, was also dominated by the same profit motive, but on behalf of the working class. This was sought to be achieved by collective bargaining, which involved also strikes by the unions and lock-outs by the managements, wherever necessary. Such a situation involved also much loss of productivity, detrimental to the society as a whole, the interests of which found very little place in the worker-capitalist confrontation. Such a confrontation did not also permit human values to emerge out of the production process.

Exploitation of man by man is the bitter fruit of the profit motive. By extending that motive as the dominant consideration of the unions also, the evils of modern industrialism became only enhanced.

At a time when introduction of ethical values in an economic enterprise was but a cry in the wilderness, R.H. Tawney, in his book *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, observed:

A reasonable estimate of economic organisation must allow for the fact that, unless industry is to be paralysed by recurrent revolts on the part of outraged human nature, it must satisfy criteria which are not purely economic.

The *social irresponsibility* of capitalist economics has been expressed vividly by several writers who are advocates of *technology with a human face*. Says E.F. Schumacher, the passionate advocate of technology with a human face and of the importance of a greater stress on intermediate technology for all developing countries like ours, in his thoughtful book *Small is Beautiful*, with its significant sub-title *A Study of*

Economics as if People Mattered (pp. 37-40):

In the current vocabulary of condemnation there are few words as final and conclusive as the word 'uneconomic'. If an activity has been branded as uneconomic, its right to existence is not merely questioned but energetically denied . . . Call a thing immoral or ugly, 'soul-destroying or a degradation of man, a peril to the peace of the world or to the well-being of human generations; so long as you have not shown it to be 'uneconomic', you have not really questioned its right to exist, grow, and prosper . . .

Something is uneconomic when it fails to earn an adequate profit in terms of money . . . The judgement of economics, in other words, is an extremely *fragmentary* judgement; out of the large number of aspects which in real life have to be seen and judged together before a decision can be taken, economics supplied only one, whether a thing yields a money profit to those who undertake it or not . . .

It is a great error to assume, for instance, that the methodology of economics is normally applied to determine whether an activity carried on by a group within society yields a profit to society as a whole . . .

Economics deals with goods and services from the point of view of the market, where willing buyer meets willing seller . . . The market is the institutionalisation of individualism and non-responsibility. Neither buyer nor seller is responsible for anything but himself . . .

To be relieved of all responsibility except to oneself means, of course, an enormous simplification of business . . .

In the market place, for practical reasons, innumerable qualitative distinctions which are of vital importance for man and society are suppressed . . . To the extent that economic thinking is based on the market, it takes the sacredness out of life, because there can be nothing sacred in something that has a price. Not surprisingly, therefore, if economic thinking pervaded the whole of society even simple non-economic values like beauty, health, or cleanliness can survive only if they prove to be 'economic'.

And offering a critique of such a *fragmentary* economic

approach and motivation in terms of such non-economic values highly prized by man, Schumacher remarks (*ibid.*, p. 68) :

What is the meaning of democracy, freedom, human dignity, standard of living, self-realisation, fulfilment? Is it a matter of goods or of people? Of course it is a matter of people. But people can be themselves only in small comprehensible groups. Therefore we must learn to think in terms of an articulated structure that can cope with a multiplicity of small scale units. If economic thinking cannot grasp this, it is useless. If it cannot get beyond its vast abstractions, the national income, the rate of growth, capital/output ratio, input-output analysis, labour-mobility, capital accumulation; if it cannot get beyond all these and make contact with the human realities of poverty, frustration, alienation, despair, breakdown, crime, escapism, stress, congestion, ugliness, and spiritual death, then let us scrap economics and start afresh.

Stating that it is the intrusion of human freedom and responsibility that makes economics metaphysically different from physics, and that all real human problems arise from the *antinomy* of order and freedom, Schumacher calls for a blending of both in a healthy business corporation (*ibid.*, 234) :

Without order, planning, predictability, central control, accountancy, instructions to the underlings, obedience, discipline—without these, nothing fruitful can happen, because everything disintegrates. And yet—without the magnanimity of disorder, the happy abandon, the *entrepreneurship* venturing into the unknown and incalculable without the risk and the gamble, the creative imagination rushing in where bureaucratic angels fear to tread—without these, life is a mockery and a disgrace.

5. Need to Make Service Dominant Over Profit Motive in Industry

In the post-World War II period, there has been deep thinking in various parts of the world on the nature and scope

of modern industrial organisation. A wave of disillusionment about all aspects of modern industry and technology had set in, creating in its wake a wave of humanistic thinking and a reassessment of the role of both profit-motivated capitalism and trade unionism in human development and fulfilment. Dehumanisation arising from the debasement of work and the worker, by the converting of work into a battle-ground of self-assertion and self-interest, the huge size of the modern industrial corporation and its impersonal functioning, and its ruthless drive for technological thoroughness without caring for human cost—all these present serious challenges to human wisdom all over the world. Modern industry has also to face the challenge of all types of environmental pollution affecting human welfare.

To put profit before people is to debase the people, and make the profit so gained dismal, and the work performed increasingly boring and meaningless. Beyond a certain point, a worker cannot find satisfaction by high monetary returns alone. For spiritual satisfaction, he needs the stimulus of involvement of his heart and mind, along with that of his hands, in his work, and of knowing that what he does is of significance to himself and his fellow humans. In the absence of these, the worker becomes increasingly mechanised and dehumanised. Modern industry distorts the human psyche by breeding the evils of alienation, frustration, and general unfulfilment in millions of working people, and thereby distorts the social situation as well. Work plays a significant part in human development and fulfilment. If a dominant profit motive debases the work and the worker, a dominant service motive elevates both. Service motive can make even a humdrum work pleasant and significant, by spiritually enriching and nourishing the worker inwardly.

6. *The Bhagavad Gītā's Philosophy of Work*

The *Bhagavad Gītā* is acknowledged to be the longest philosophical poem expounding the greatest philosophy of work. Work and worker constitute its central theme. The *Gītā* presents work as the means of the *abhyudaya*, material and social welfare, of the worker and, through him, of his society,

and of his *niḥśreyasa*, spiritual growth and fulfilment. The latter is the product of the worker's consciousness of his work as service conducive to the welfare of society. The *Gītā* also exhorts the worker to gradually rise to the level of viewing such service as *worship*—worship of the divine in man. This is the famous *buddhi yoga*, *yoga* of enlightened reason, of the *Gītā*, which Śrī Kṛṣṇa expounds and eulogizes in verses 48 to 51 of its second chapter.

*Yogasthaḥ kuru karmāṇi saṅgam tyaktvā dhanañjaya;
Siddhyasiddhyoḥ samo bhūtvā, samatvam yoga ucyate—*

Giving up attachment, equal-minded in success and failure, do all work, O Arjuna, established in the *yoga* (of *buddhi*); this evenness of mind is called *yoga*.

*Dūreṇa hyavaram karma buddhi-yogāt dhanañjaya;
Buddhav saraṇam anviccha, kṛpāṇāḥ phalahetavaḥ—*

Work (prompted by the profit motive and for mere sensate satisfaction) is far inferior, O Arjuna, to (work done under the guidance of) the *yoga* of *buddhi*; resort to (this) *buddhi*; small-minded and short-sighted are they who work (only) for selfish advantage.

*Buddhi-yukto jahātīha ubhe sukṛta duṣkṛte;
Tasmāt yogāya yujyasva yogāḥ karmasu kauśalam—*

The man endowed with *buddhi* (enlightened reason) goes beyond (the relativity of) both the merit and demerit of all work, in this very life; strive, therefore, to acquire the *yoga* (of *buddhi*); *yoga* is spoken of as dexterity in work.

*Karmajam buddhiyuktāḥ hi phalam tyaktvā manīṣiṇaḥ
Janmabandha vinirmuktāḥ padam gacchantyanāmayam—*

Wise people endowed with (the *yoga* of) *buddhi*, detached from the fruits derived from work, and freed for ever from the bondages of existence, attain to that state of life which is beyond all evil.

Not only workers and managements in industry, but also all politics and administration, will have to imbibe the spirit of this *buddhi yoga*, if mankind is to realise its objective of human development and fulfilment, of a national and international socio-political order based on social justice and social peace, of a polity free from all kind of exploitation, not merely economic, but also political, intellectual, and religious. That this *buddhi yoga* of the *Gītā* has the power to bring about peace and justice in the world at large was voiced, in the course of one of his speeches, by no less a person than the Secretary General of the UN, the late Dr. Hammarskjöld, when he translated and commended the sentiments of the verse 49 referred to above.

7. *Post-war Reassessment of Capitalism and Trade Unionism*

The post-war humanistic impulse has led to a reassessment of capitalism by some Western economists and of trade unionism by some West European Marxist thinkers. The trend of this reassessment is in the direction of the replacement of the conflict, centred in the profit motive, by cooperation arising from the service motive. Increasing numbers of communist thinkers in Western Europe have recently started stressing the wisdom of the involvement of the workers in, in place of the folly of perpetual conflict with, the industrial enterprise concerned, as the practical way to bring about humanisation of modern industry and technology. They also stress that producer satisfaction must go hand in hand with consumer or market satisfaction. There has been a similar response from the enlightened section of the capitalist side also, of favouring man, in a system of *man in conflict with the machine*. Some thinkers refer to this as the *qualitative revolution* to supplement the earlier *quantitative revolution* of the modern industrial technique. Here, for the first time, since 100 years of modern industry, we notice a healthy trend on the part of both capital and labour towards cooperation, so as to secure the progressive adaptation of the modern industrial machine to the human needs of the working people. There is thus a general trend of a greater involvement of the workers and the management within the company, with a view to bringing about progressive change in its structure, functioning, and objectives.

Private enterprise, under modern capitalism, is not concerned with what it produces but only with what it gains from production; this constitutes one of the social non-responsibilities of individualism, the ugly face of the tyranny of the profit motive. Man, as a *private individual*, takes interest in non-profit values; he seeks things of utility to enjoy things without utility. But man, as a *businessman*, concerns himself only with economic profits. Hence his social and human non-responsibility. And it is this social non-responsibility that is cut at the roots by the *Gītā* teaching of *buddi yoga* referred to above.

8. *The Socialist Vision*

The challenge to this capitalistic thought has come from modern socialism of the communist and socialist varieties. The constant and common theme of both types of socialism is the *end of exploitation of man by man*. The main difference between communists and socialists relates to the non-acceptance, by socialists, of economic determinism and class-war advocated by communists. The socialist vision of a non-exploitative society has been an influence in India for over 100 years, beginning with Swami Vivekananda. In fact, the main socialist ideas have influenced Indian thinking of man and society from the time of the Upaniṣads nearly four thousand years ago. The Upaniṣads and the *Gītā* expound the spiritual equality of man in the light of the one Ātman, Divine Self, present in all. The teaching against greed in all the word religions is socialistic in its operation. The *Gītā* gives an ethical orientation to the concept of *yajña*, or sacrifice, in its third chapter (3.13):

Bhūñjate te tvagham pāpā ye pacantyātma-kāraṇāt—

Those sinners who cook (and eat) only for themselves, verily, eat only sin.

Swami Vivekananda has described the modern age as the age of the emergence of the *śūdras*, of the proletariat. Says he (*Letters of Swami Vivekananda*, 1948 edition, p. 352):

I am a socialist, not because I think it is a perfect system,

but half a loaf is better than no bread.

The other systems have been tried and found wanting; let this one be tried—if for nothing else, for the novelty of the thing. A redistribution of pain and pleasure is better than always the same persons having the pains and pleasures. The sum total of good and evil in the world remains ever the same. The yoke will be lifted from shoulder to shoulder by new systems, that is all.

Let every dog have his day in this miserable world, so that after this experience of so-called happiness, they will all come to the Lord and give up this vanity of a world and governments and all other botherations.

Speaking on *The Future of India* at Madras in 1897, Swami Vivekananda had said (*The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, Vol. III, 1960 edition, pp. 294-297):

The days of exclusive privileges and exclusive claims are gone, gone for ever from the soil of India, and it is one of the great blessings of the British Rule in India. Even to the Mohammedan Rule we owe that great blessing, the destruction of exclusive privilege. . . . The duty of every aristocracy is to dig its own grave; and the sooner it does so, the better. The more it delays, the more it will fester, and the worse death it will die.

According to R.P. Masani, Dadabhoj Naoroji, the outstanding economic thinker and political leader of the pre-Gandhian Indian National Congress, had attended the International Socialistic Congress at Amsterdam in 1904 and had cultivated some association with the British socialists. Gandhiji, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vinoba Bhave, and our present Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, apart from hundreds of other thinkers and political leaders, have been advocates of a non-doctrinaire type of socialism for India; they do not equate collectivism with socialism. They are also strong advocates of citizen's freedom. Even the Indian communists, in participating in the democratic parliamentary institutions in India, have abjured the extremist lines of ideologies and programmes. And recently, the European communist parties

have also started abandoning the earlier doctrinaire approaches. The influence of Indian culture and philosophy has softened the rigidities of Marxism in the Indian context, and opened the way for the adoption, by the nation, of a socialism with ethical and human motivations, in tune with the spiritual inheritance of the Indian people.

9. *Socialism and the Indian Constitution*

The Indian Constitution, in its very Preamble, lays down some of the essential democratic and socialistic principles, such as people's sovereignty, justice, equality, fraternity, liberty, and the dignity of the individual. And during the debates on the Constitution in the Constituent Assembly, Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer had said:

The Constitution, while it does not commit the country to any particular form of economic structure or social adjustment, gives ample scope for the future legislatures and future parliament to evolve any economic order and undertake any legislation they chose in public interests.

The Constitution, in its *Directive Principles*, affords plenty of scope for making India socialistic; and the impending amendments to the Constitution, in the light of the above remarks by Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer, if adopted by Parliament next month, will give effective expression to the socialistic aspirations of the Indian people.

10. *Freedom versus Equality*

The central problem of socialism has been the squaring of the two great urges of man, namely, freedom and equality. In normal circumstances, both cannot co-exist. In the human context, stress on freedom tends to increase inequality, and stress on equality tends to decrease freedom. The French Revolution stressed freedom and the Russian Revolution stressed equality. In the economic sphere, capitalism upholds freedom and denies equality, while Marxism upholds equality and restricts freedom. India is faced with the challenge of combining these two great

values of freedom and equality; India is striving to usher in socialistic equality in the context of democratic freedom. While doing so, she is encroaching on some peripheral aspects of *Fundamental Rights*, with respect to freedom, only with a view to strengthening and implementing the *Directive Principles* of her Constitution with respect to equality. This is inescapable in the context of a long-established feudal social system, and in the interests of its early replacement by a democratic social order; for freedom in a feudal context means only freedom of wealth and monopoly to exploit the weak and the helpless. *But the freedom offered in the Fundamental Rights will shine in all its glory in India after the Directive Principles have achieved a satisfactory measure of levelling up of the common people.* Curtailing of the freedom to exploit others is the surest way to enhance allround freedom. And freedom is the first condition of growth, proclaims Swami Vivekananda, who also presents this value as the supreme gift of Vedānta.

It is obvious that a mere economic or political approach can never help the nation to effect this union of freedom and equality. It needs a spiritual approach which, fortunately, is available to our people from our philosophers and spiritual teachers, both ancient and modern. The genius for synthesis, characteristic of Indian wisdom, when it begins to affect the thinking of our people in a pervasive way, can be expected to make our politics, administration, and society achieve this happy blend of democratic freedom with socialistic equality.

11. *Psycho-social Evolution and Ethics*

Nineteenth century capitalism received its stimulus from the materialism of that century's physics and biology. As presented by Thomas Huxley, collaborator of Darwin : Whereas Ethics means the making of as many as possible fit to survive, biology expounds Evolution as *struggle for existence and survival of the fittest*. Nineteenth century capitalism translated this in human terms into colonial exploitation and cut-throat competition which, in due course, exploded into the two catastrophic world wars. But just as twentieth century physics has ceased to be materialistic in the crude sense as understood in the last century, the revolutionary advances in the science of biology in the

twentieth century have made ethics central to evolution at the human stage.

Speaking on 'The Evolutionary Vision', Julian Huxley, the noted biologist, and grandson of Thomas Huxley, gave a spiritual orientation to the evolutionary process (*Evolution after Darwin*, Vol III, p. 215):

Man's evolution is not biological but psycho-social. It operates by the mechanism of cultural tradition, which involves the cumulative self-reproduction and self-variation of mental activities and their products. Accordingly, major steps in the human phase of evolution are achieved by breakthroughs to new dominant patterns of mental organisation of knowledge, ideas, and beliefs—ideological instead of physiological or biological organisation.

Discussing, in the light of these revolutionary ideas of twentieth century biology, the aim of human evolution, or evolution at the human stage, Julian Huxley says (*ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 20):

In the light of our present knowledge, man's most comprehensive aim is seen not as mere survival, not as numerical increase, not as increased complexity of organisation, or increased control over his environment, but as greater fulfilment—the fuller realisation of more possibilities by human species collectively and more of its component members individually.

And pleading for a scientific study of the scope of this concept of fulfilment, Huxley says (*ibid.*, p. 21) :

Once greater fulfilment is recognised as man's ultimate or dominant aim; we shall need a science of human possibilities to help guide the long course of psycho-social evolution that lies ahead.

India is fortunate to have such a *science of human possibilities* as the central theme of her *Bhagavad Gītā*.

Capitalism lays stress on quantity. Ethical and spiritual

values lay stress on quality. And Huxley, in his lecture on 'The Evolutionary Vision', speaks of *quality* emerging as the criterion of evolution at the human stage, in place of *quantity* which dominated the organic or the pre-human phase of evolution (*Evolution after Darwin*, Vol. III, p. 257):

I spoke of quality. This must be the dominant concept of our new belief-system — quality and richness as against quantity and uniformity.

Discussing the subject of economic utility in the light of this new belief-system, Huxley says (*ibid.*, p. 259) :

Once we truly believe . . . that man's destiny is to make possible greater fulfilment for human beings and fuller achievement by human societies, utility in the customary sense becomes subordinate. Quantity of material production, of course, is necessary as the basis for the satisfaction of elementary human needs—but only up to a certain degree. More than a certain number of calories or cocktails or TV sets or washing machines per person is not merely unnecessary, but bad. Quantity of material production is a means to a further end, not an end in itself.

And highlighting quality as the dynamics of human evolution, Huxley concludes (*ibid.*, pp. 260-61):

Thus the evolutionary vision . . . illumines our existence in a simple, but almost overwhelming way It shows us our destiny and our duty. It shows us mind enthroned above matter, quantity subordinate to quality.

12. *The Indian Message of Dharma*

It is against this thought background of ancient Vedānta, twentieth century science, and modern human experience, that we have to view economic activities of industrial corporations and business ventures in modern India. New scientific truths take time to influence social thinking and action; and much of our current socio-economic thinking and action is still influenced

by nineteenth century science. Ethical values, what India calls *dharma*, are inseparable from any ordered human society. Bereft of them, man becomes reduced to a beast, says Indian wisdom: *dharmeṇa hināḥ paśubhiḥ samānāḥ*. *Dharma* as the principle of integration of man with man in society, does not mean religion in the sense of creed, doctrine, or ritual, nor any scheme of other worldly salvation. A mere accumulation of bricks does not constitute a building. It needs cement to unite brick with brick to make for its integrated structure. Similarly, a mere aggregation of men does not constitute society. *Dharma* is the value that unites man to man to form the integrated organisation which is society. *Dharma* stresses the idea of mutuality and inter-dependence of man in society. Man needs the context of other human beings for his very humanisation. This is how Śrī Kṛṣṇa expounds *dharma* in the *Kaṇva Parva* of the *Mahābhārata* (8.45.50):

Dhāraṇāt dharma ityāhuḥ, dharmo dhāryate prajāḥ.

13. *The Puruṣārthas*

Indian philosophy considers *kāma*, sensate satisfaction, and *artha*, wealth, the means to *kāma*, as valid human pursuits, or *puruṣārthas*. But it considers *lobha*—greed and *moha*—delusion, arising from unchecked desire, as unethical, because they are anti-social. To restrain these two pursuits from becoming anti-social, Indian philosophy presents a third vital human pursuit, or *puruṣārtha*, namely, *dharma*—ethical sense. It is *dharma* that helps all people, not just a few powerful and clever ones, to experience the maximum *kāma* and *artha*. And Śrī Kṛṣṇa, the human manifestation of the one divine self in all beings, endorses this validity of *kāma* in the *Gītā* (7.11):

Dharmā-viruddho bhūteṣu kāmo'smi bharatarṣabha—

I am that *kāma*, sensual desire, in all beings, which is unopposed to *dharma*.

Indian philosophy refers to *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma* as the *trivarga*, the inseparable group of three, treats them as the

universal warp and woof of all ordered human society, and presents *mokṣa*, absolute freedom of the spirit, as the fourth *puruṣārtha*, as an optional trans-social pursuit meant for those few who desire, and dare, to go deeper into the spiritual dimensions of life and realise one's true nature in all its glory. For all the rest, this *mokṣa* experience comes, within the limitations of the social context, as *dharma*. *Dharma*, thus, is the confluence of the social and the trans-social; and every sacred and secular literature of India sings its glory. Indian culture is rooted in, and inspired by, this great value of *dharma*.

14. *Dharma versus Psycho-social Evolution*

It is the echo of this great value that we get in the concept of *psycho-social* evolution of twentieth century biology referred to earlier. With the most versatile organ, namely, the cerebral system, given to man by nature, says today's biology, evolution, at the human stage, has ceased to be primarily organic, and has become psycho-social. It demands that man, with the help of his cerebral system, detach his psyche or self from the organic system and make it grow and expand, in ethical awareness and social feeling, so as to realise its oneness with other psyches in society. Here we get an echo of the *anāsakti-yoga* of the *Gītā*. All greed, delusion, and exploitation proceed from the self, when centred in, and attached to, the organic system. By psycho-social evolution, man *grows spiritually* and becomes capable of digging affections in each other, of communicating with each other, of working in a team. It is at this deeper level that he becomes capable of realising the value of *dharma*, ethical sense, from within himself, and expressing himself, naturally and spontaneously, in moods and acts of service, and becomes also incapable of exploiting other human beings.

Our national cultural ethos will not allow our people to drift into the worship of, what several modern economic thinkers refer to as, the false god of GNP, of an unchecked pursuit of organic satisfactions, of a mad rush after material affluence. *Our philosophy tells us how and why to pursue these, and when and how to stop, and what higher things there are to pursue.* If our own tested cultural values guide us in our economic pursuits in the modern period, we shall be satisfied with a measure of

decent material and social welfare for all our people.

15. *Our Economic Development in the Light of Indian Culture*

This itself will provide, in the context of the immense population of our country at low levels of economic development, a wide field for our industrial enterprises. The stimulus for expansion and diversification of industrial production and making monetary profits is, therefore, to be sought in a national economic policy designed to effect a wide diffusion of purchasing power among our people. Therein will lie the real thrust of Indian socialism. Production of luxury and conspicuous consumption goods, according to Swami Vivekananda, has also a place, and can be encouraged, in a socialistic order, only as a means to provide gainful work for the poor.

In this context, the new concept of 'fulfilment' presented by Julian Huxley as the goal of evolution at the human state, as against 'organic satisfactions', which nineteenth century biology had presented as the goal of all evolution, and which twentieth century biology relegates to its pre-human phase, becomes significant (*Evolution after Darwin*, Vol. III, p. 259) :

But like population explosion, this consumption explosion cannot continue much longer. It is an inherently self defeating process. Sooner, rather than later, we must get away from a system based on artificially increasing the number of human wants, *and sat about constructing one aimed at the qualitative satisfaction of real human needs, spiritual and mental, as well as material and physiological.*

This means abandoning the pernicious habit of evaluating every human project solely in terms of its utility—by which the evaluators mean its material utility and, especially, its utility in making a profit for somebody.

16. *Social Purposes of Industrial Corporations*

When economic activity is conducted in the light of this philosophy of man and society, it ceases to be primarily a profit making venture. Profit-making does remain as one of its important motivations; but it becomes subordinated to the

service motivation.

This is the ethical role of a modern corporation, the word 'modern' breathing the spirit of modern science, of the modern humanistic values and urges, and the trials and tribulations of industrial experiences, of the post-war period. Our country is fortunately placed, in that we are in the early stages of our industrial development. Our industry has to learn from the dismal post-war experiences and warnings of British and Western European industry, and take steps to define a new role for our managements and trade unions, and *a new national purpose for our corporations*. A new revolution in trade unionism will follow a new concept of an industrial corporation in which the profit motive of the employer, which gave rise to the counter profit motive of the employee, gives way to the service motive. This will provide a context of a national partnership between management and labour, not for exploiting the corporation for mutual advantage, which may happen only in a capitalist system, but for the service of all the constituent parties concerned. It will flow from a *social purposes clause* to be inserted in the corporation's aims and objects, and incorporated in the Company Law itself.

17. *Role of Labour-Management Partnership*

When we thus make the profit motive secondary and the service motive primary, we convert both the management and the labour of a corporation into what they really are, namely, *citizens of free India engaged in a partnership within a national productive enterprise*. This management-labour partnership then becomes the custodian of the wider interests of society. And it is in that high role of free and responsible citizens, with its wider national horizons and awareness of national responsibilities, that the representatives of labour, now being inducted to the managements, become a source of strength to the corporation. Such a process will hasten the conversion of the corporation into a *trust* for the good of society. It is in such a responsible corporation, inspired with this ethical and human motivation, that workers can be expected to play a responsive and responsible role from the shop floor to the board room. Such a corporation will harmonise the demand of all the constituents

of the corporation, namely, the workers, the investors and the shareholders, the state, the consumer, and the community at large. A corporation's obligations are two-fold—internal and external. Internal—to the corporation, for its continuance and development; to its employees, for their human dignity, development of skills, promotion, and security; and to its investors and shareholders, for a reasonable return on their investment. External—to the state, by way of taxes due; and the consumers, for supply of quality goods at reasonable prices, and to the community at large, by the suitable welfare measures. The ethics of a modern corporation will also include the responsibility, for producing only such goods as are beneficial for humanity and needed for its development and fulfilment.

18. *The Grhastha to Spiritually Grow into the Citizen*

Exploitation of man by man is not the evil monopoly of only corporate industry and business. It has been long practised by our people in the domestic sphere as well. If a man or a woman in distress approaches our homes for a job, we rarely offer him or her the wage commensurate with the job, but what can purchase one at the lowest level of his or her distress. It is good for us, who have plenty of religion about us, to know that this is rarely done by the people of the 'materialistic' West. What is still more tragic is the fact that the householder concerned, as also his or her friends, applaud such unethical and low behaviour as *practical intelligence*! We here mistake cleverness and cunning for intelligence. The sooner our people learn to treat such intelligence as folly, and as crime against God and man, against God in man, the better for us and for our nation.

When we rise to this ethical and human level of thinking and action, we shall rise to the level of true citizenship of a democratic and socialistic India. This signifies the spiritual growth of the *grhastha*, or householder, into the citizen.

The impact of millions of such citizens on the functioning of our industrial, financial, and business institutions, and on all our politics and administration, will be healthy and weighty in an unprecedented degree. *The good life begins in the privacy of our life when we are unobserved by others.* It is millions of

such attitudes and acts, mostly quiet and silent, that make a society *dhārmic* or ethical, imparting, thereby, substance and soulfulness and reality to the democratic and socialistic political structure of the nation. This is true nation-building, according to Swami Vivekananda, through man-making education and man-making religion.

19. *Raising the Cultural Level of Our Working People*

The trade unions and the ministries and departments of Labour need to turn their attention to the qualitative improvement of the life of our working people. It is obvious that, while collective bargaining has raised the worker's wages and salaries, there has not been a corresponding rise in the cultural level of his or her life. I have heard from some of our public sector managements that, in spite of earning over one thousand rupees a month, many workers live shabby dismal lives. It is culture that brings the best out of a given quantum of money; money itself does not possess that power. Without culture, all the money that one earns may be wasted in wasteful expenditure; and with culture, even a lesser amount of money can ensure a better quality of life to the wage earner and his or her family. I saw this vividly illustrated when I was in Karachi during the war years. The Ramakrishna Mission, Karachi, was conducting a school for Bhils on the Clifton beach. As municipal employees, many of these Bhils used to earn double what the teacher in that school was earning as salary. But whereas the teacher's life was clean and bright, the life of the Bhils was wretched and dismal.

It is time that our nation turns its attention to the qualitative improvement in the life of millions of our working people. Apart from secular education, the one powerful source of cultural uplift and qualitative improvement of the life of our people is religion—not of the magical and superstitious variety; but *bhakti* and *bhajan*. Apart from adequate and general secular education, *family planning* and *religion* form two other important factors for raising the cultural level of our workers. Family planning, though very necessary as a programme for raising the quality of life of the worker and his family, is not sufficient for achieving so great a purpose as

cultural uplift. It must be accompanied by the ministrations of that science and technique of religion which imparts dignity, strength, and an inner enrichment to man in all stations of life. Schopenhauer's warning, 'when men achieve security and welfare, now that they have solved all their problems, they become a problem to themselves', can evoke only one response from any sensible person, namely, an immediate resort to the science and technique of enriching one's inner life.

Our people have built up, through the ages, a good capital of this inner richness; let us not, in the modern period, eat up this precious capital, but add to it while drawing on it. That is the way of wisdom. It is the culture of *bhakti* and *bhajan*, derived from thousands of saints and poet-singers, of all castes and creeds, that has made for *the unique phenomenon of the dissociation of poverty from crime in our country*. Our working people must be educated to prefer, once again, *bhajan* at the end of a day's labour to drunkenness and brawls. Our poor are poor only in their pockets, but not in their hearts; their inborn culture makes them kind and hospitable, gladly sharing their piece of bread with a visitor. We are fast losing this wealth of culture in our common people by the materialistic impact of modern industrialism. This tragedy must be averted. Swami Vivekananda, accordingly, wrote in one of his letters from America to his workers in India: 'Keep the motto before you: Elevation of the masses without injuring their religion.' Several of our military officers have told me that it is the provision of facilities for religious life that contributes most for the morale of our *jawans* in our army.

20. *Mass Production versus Production by the Masses*

The presence of a large segment of public sector corporations in our country, dissociated from the vice of the exploitations associated with the private sector, and controlling the commanding heights of the national economy, is a vital factor in giving our technology a human face. Public and private sector industries have to realise that private affluence and public squalor in our country is a standing challenge to our political system and to our social conscience. We have also to safeguard ourselves against the current materialistic philosophy

behind modern production techniques, which stimulate insatiable human cravings and create ecological problems, and which mutilate man and distort the social situation.

Introducing into our industry ethical values, and giving our technology a human face, also involves, as suggested by Schumacher, adoption of intermediate and small scale technologies, which are labour intensive, in place of high technology where it is not relevant. Using the scarce capital resources available to start thousands of small work units, and giving gainful employment to millions, constitutes the ethics of industrial enterprise in our country today. This is to follow the wise lead given by Gandhiji: 'not mass production, but production by the masses.' And, since the last two years, our national policy has happily turned in this direction.

21. Conclusion

Public sector corporations have a great responsibility; therefore, to uphold ethical and human values in industry, along with achieving productive efficiency and rising profits, and thus set an example to all private sector corporations in the country. When ethical and human values will inspire industrial and business corporations in India, we can see the end of exploitation of man by man, and man by money power, in our country. This will help to fulfil Gandhiji's dream, in spirit, if not in letter, of the principle of *trusteeship* inspiring industrial and business activities in India. There are already some small industrial ventures in our country, sponsored by some of the members of Gandhiji's constructive work movement, which function under the trusteeship principle advocated by Gandhiji. It is heartening to find that such ventures, with slight variations, are functioning in some of the Western countries as well. I cannot conclude this exposition of the *Ethics of a Modern Corporation* better than by conveying the blessings, on the subject, pronounced by the Father of the Nation. Writing in the *Harijan* of 31 March 1946, on the eve of Indian independence, Gandhiji had said:

Supposing India becomes a free country tomorrow, all the capitalists will have an opportunity of becoming statutory

trustees. But such a statute will not be imposed from above. It will have to come from below. When the people understand the implications of trusteeship, and the atmosphere is ripe for it, the people themselves, beginning with *Grām Pañchāyats*, will begin to introduce such statutes. Such a thing coming from below is easy to swallow. Coming from above, it is liable to prove a dead-weight.

22 *A Note on Administrative Reorganisation*

When discussing a subject like *Ethics of a Modern Corporation*, we cannot ignore the pressing problem of finding employment for the mass of our people through the dispersal of industries, using what I have referred to as intermediate and small scale technology, in thousands of work centres in our rural areas. This will not only bring gainful employment and economic uplift to our long-neglected country side but also stop the drift of our rural people to the towns and cities with its resulting growth of slums and attendant human problems.

The energising of our rural India, and making our rural population take interest in national development, needs a more radical approach to administrative reforms than what we have so far attempted. Our administration is a Mughal and British legacy: they were empires and their interest in our rural life was only *law and order* and *revenue collection*. The large districts that the British carved out were designed for these purposes; even the name of the head of the district as *Collector* was to emphasise his role as a collector of revenue. In Bengal, villages are grouped under police *thanas*, a law and order designation.

When we became independent and proclaimed ourselves a democratic republic, we should have changed the administrative set-up, to match with our vast planning and developmental programmes. But what we actually did was only tinkering with the Mughal-British legacy here and there; these little changes which we introduced in the structure did not meet with the demands of the revolutionary changes we introduced in the aims and programmes of our independent India's administration. *A dynamic national developmental programme and a static administrative structure ill go together.* We must dare to make radical changes in that structure itself, if it is to serve the

purposes of a revolutionary development programme.

It is heartening to note that, recently, the Prime Minister has instructed all States to see that the administration in the districts and below is strengthened so that, that part of the government with which the common people come directly into contact, may make the people and itself involved in each other. I am happy to know that our own State has appointed, in this connection, an administrative reforms committee. I hope it will take really radical steps to effectively involve the people in national development from the grass roots level up to the district level.

Experience reveals one weakness of our present set-up; that is this: our villages are too small to constitute a viable unit of administration; and our districts are too big to constitute a viable unit of administration, with the very many duties and responsibilities now devolving on its head, namely, the Collector. For making administration effective, and for involving the people in their development, and for energising the rural areas with thousands of work centres, we need to treat the present taluk or block as a district and the taluk headquarters town as the hub of industrial, educational, training, health, family-planning, and administrative centre, easily accessible from all parts of the taluk. Industrial estates, public and private, started in these taluk headquarters town, will draw workers from the rural areas, who will go back after work to their homes through the net work of roads and cycle and other relevant communication facilities; this will prevent slums developing in these industrial towns; smaller industries are to be started in the villages also. The area of a taluk being small, there will be plenty of inter-communion between its various villages with the help of roads and common work, education, and recreation facilities. *The village panchayat below and the taluk parishad above will become the dynamic centres of self-government in the nation.*

The words taluk and zilla were coined by foreign rulers, in their own interests, to suggest revenue collecting regions. They evoke only the image of an exploiting administration in the minds of our people. But a word like *Janapada* will evoke a sense of a people's government—*swaraj*. It will, therefore, be advisable to give a more meaningful name to this administrative unit of a taluk or block. Mr. D. P. Mishra, when he was

Chief Minister of the old Madhya Pradesh, had suggested this name of *Janapada* to such an administrative unit, in his Bill to reorganise that State; after his ministry quit, nothing came out of it; but I feel it is a very imaginative project and needs to be studied and made use of. The change can begin with our own State of Andhra Pradesh, a state of vast distances. The State can be organised into about 180 janapadas, corresponding to its present taluk or blocks, each under a Collector, which name also needs to be changed into *Janapada Sevak*; change in such names, to reflect the change in the colour and function of administration, goes a long way to involve people in the administration. Under the Mughals and the British, we had Viceroys. What would have been our reaction if, after independence, we had continued to use the term Viceroy, instead of Rashtrapati, to our head of state. But we *wisely* made the change at the top, and *unwisely* left it unchanged at the lower levels; that is why our independence has brought about only a *surface revolution* and not a *national revolution*. Speaking at Madras in 1897 on *My Plan of Campaign*, Swami Vivekananda had said:

To the reformers I will point out that I am a greater reformer than any one of them. They want to reform only little bits. I want *root and branch reform* . . . you must go down to the basis of the thing, to the very root of matter. That is what I call radical reform. *Put the fire there and let it burn upwards and make an Indian nation.*

This call of the great patriot saint of modern India in another context needs to be heeded and given effect to in our administration. The Janapada project holds the key to 'put fire at the bottom and let it burn upwards to make an Indian nation.'

India will thus become a *Union of about 3,500 Janapadas* through the present 20 or 21 States; each janapada will become a beehive of nation-building activity; national and political awareness will spread in the countryside; and the centre of gravity of the nation will then be evenly distributed between the urban areas and the rural areas, and exploration of the latter by the former will end.

This State, and the nation as a whole, should not consider the increased cost of administration arising from 180 district Collectors, in place of the present 21 Collectors, with respect to this State, and similar figures with respect to other States, as a serious objection when other advantages will be found to be revolutionary.

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA AND THE PROBLEMS OF OUR WORKING CLASS

1. *Introductory*

I HAVE come to speak to you and discuss with you some matters that are very relevant to our country, particularly in the field of labour. It has been my long association with labour, and with people who worked in the field of labour, that has induced me to accept this invitation. I had many occasions to listen to, and to study and to discuss with, people concerned with labour about matters connected with the welfare of our working class in the general context of human development in India. The subject of this talk is framed, therefore, from that national perspective.

2. *Human Development : A Long Neglected Subject in India*

What we are engaged in during this modern period of Indian history is—and I put it in one simple phrase—*human development in India*. And human development in India means human development of a seventh of the human race. For every seventh person in the world is an Indian. This great problem of human development, we should not fail to note, has been taken up by us, consciously, deliberately, and as a matter of national policy, for the first time in our long history, only in this modern period; and behind this national endeavour of ours lies a tremendous urgency; because, for the past several centuries, due to pressure of historical circumstances, we had completely neglected human development in India, including awareness of the very problem itself. That is why, we have inherited a society so riven with diverse hierarchies where millions at the bottom feel only the

crushing weight of the social pyramid, but none of its blessings, and which has brought them to near-animal levels of life.

The very concept of man developing in a human way, achieving human dignity and human worth—this great idea did not agitate our minds for centuries together, except in one limited field, namely, the field of religion. We produced a few great saints, who lived up to and preached this great vision and ideal, and whose influence helped in the uplift of the common people so far as their inner life, their cultural and spiritual life, was concerned: this helped to raise their cultural level and to humanize them, and to produce a few lovable saints from among the common people themselves. They came from the labouring classes, both Hindu and Muslim, including the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. The Vedāntic clarion call of the spiritual nature of man, irrespective of caste and creed and sex, helped in the achievement of the religious development of man in a wide measure, even in the most unpropitious feudal context of human suppression in all other fields—economic, social and intellectual. That past achievement is a precious asset for our nation today, when it is facing the challenge of allround human development in the more propitious democratic context of the modern age. *I wish to stress this point, and I wish you all to take note of this truth, that the common people of India, the labouring classes, have inherited an invaluable wealth from their past religious life, namely, their culture, their humanity.*

3. *The Indian Working Class : Its Unique Assets*

All of us must take note of this most important fact of the human situation in modern India; that our working class people are poor only in their pockets and in their intellect, but not in their hearts. They are exceptionally human and cultured; they have an invaluable richness of inner quality; the human virtues of hospitality, peacefulness, and unselfishness are very much present in them, along with deep faith in spiritual values. When you compare them with the common people of several other countries, you will appreciate better this unique quality of the Indian peasant and working class. If you go to their houses, if they have only one bread, they will gladly share half of it with you. In spite of poverty, they

are also not inclined to drunkenness and crime. These are great human qualities which they have developed through that centuries long humanizing process of religion—through the *bhakti* and *bhajan* initiated by hundreds of our saints; and it has achieved profound social results for India in the unique fact, recognized by not only our outstanding national leaders, but also by several observers coming from foreign countries, that *poverty and crime do not go together in India*. It is for us to recognize this truth and its immense national value, and make it the solid foundation for all our human development policies and programmes.

It was Swami Vivekananda who first pointed out this truth towards the end of the last century that poverty is not a crime in India, that the poor people of India are not necessarily, potentially or actually, criminal people, as they often are in other parts of the world, where to be poor is to be prone to drunkenness and criminality. That is not so in India. Now this may be our certificate to ourselves; but I am going to tell you that it is not so. Foreign observers of the Indian scene have also made this very remark. I shall only refer to one such, the famous American economist and previous US Ambassador to India, Professor Galbraith. During his discussions with our Planning Commission, he made this remark, as reported by Sri Sriman Narayan in his book *Gandhi: The Man and His Thought* (pp. 39-40):

In India, I have always found some kind of a lustre in the eyes of the poor peasantry I have seen in the faces of the poor people in Indian villages a spirit of self-reliance and moral fortitude which, in a sense, enriches their poverty.

Much earlier, in February 1897, when the problems of our working class were not even thought of in our country, Swami Vivekananda had said, in reply to a question by the correspondent of the *Hindu* of Madras in the course of his long interview with the Swami on his return from his triumphant tour of the West (*Complete Works*, Vol. V, 1973, p. 213):

What are your views with regard to the India masses?

Oh, we are awfully poor, and our masses are very ignorant about secular things. Our masses are very good, because poverty here is not a crime. Our masses are not violent. Many times I was near being mobbed in America and England, only on account of my dress. But I never heard of such a thing in India as a man being mobbed because of peculiar dress. In every other respect, our masses are much more civilized than the European masses. What will you propose for the improvement of our masses?

We have to give them secular education. We have to follow the plan laid down by our ancestors, that is, to bring all the ideals slowly down among the masses. Raise them slowly up, raise them to equality.

Again, during an interview with the correspondent of the *Madras Times*, the same month, the Swami had said (*ibid.*, p. 223):

The great thing is to have faith in oneself even before faith in God; but the difficulty seems to be that we are losing faith in ourselves day-by-day. That is my objection against the reformers. The orthodox have more faith and more strength in themselves, in spite of their crudeness; but the reformers simply play into the hands of Europeans and pander to their vanity.

Our masses are gods as compared with those of other countries. This is the only country where poverty is not a crime. They are mentally and physically handsome.

4. *Elevation of the Masses, without Injuring Their Religion*

Now, today, we have this type of cultured refined humanity among our poor to deal with. How to help these people? What line of development do they need? So far as their religious development is concerned, we have nothing more to give them except help to strengthen the physical and mental bases of the same through the removal of their poverty and illiteracy. That means giving them modern secular education with a view to strengthening their inborn culture of soul, taking all care

that such education does not destroy their long and hard-earned humanness, does not turn them into literate animals. Their inborn culture of soul, with its virtues of hospitality, peaceableness, sobriety, and religious faith are qualities revealing an inner human enrichment, for which the modern world is hungry, and which the modern Western nations are in despair of ever attaining for their own peoples. Hence, Swami Vivekananda exhorted our people in one of his letters from the West to his disciples in Madras in 1894 (*Complete Works*, Vol. III, 1973, p. 29):

My whole ambition in life is to set in motion a machinery which will bring noble ideas to the door of everybody, and then let men and women settle their own fate. Let them know what our forefathers as well as other nations have thought on the most momentous questions of life. Let them see specially what others are doing now, and then decide. We are to put the chemicals together, the crystallization will be done by nature according to her laws. Work hard, be steady, and have faith in the Lord. Set to work, I am coming sooner or later. Keep the motto before you—Elevation of the masses without injuring their religion.

So, when we discuss, in association with each other, this problem of human development in India and the problem of our working class, we are confronted with this great question of what is the type of development our working classes in India need? Obviously, the very first challenge that stares us in the face relates to the economic development of our more than three hundred million people living below the poverty line. When we deal with India, the first and recurring question that crops up is the economic emancipation of these people—the emancipation from a set of social situations where exploitation of man by man has been and still is the central problem. When we study India during the last few centuries, we are amazed to find that our society has perfected not only the usual type of exploitation that is found in other countries, namely, the economic, but also many other types as well. Our

of exploitation. Similarly, our feudal social structure has been the context of a very intense form of exploitation for ages. We have also indulged in intellectual exploitation of the ignorant common people, and exploitation of women by men and, also, alas, of women by other women!

This is the dark side of our past heritage; and we have to face it today, treating it as a challenge to our national wisdom. And the strength to face and overcome this challenge successfully is available to us from the vision of human dignity and worth upheld in our ancient spiritual insights and in the modern Western humanism, and in the modern Western scientific discoveries. The only objective of all our national developmental programmes is to install man in the Indian context on the throne of his inborn right to dignity and honour. This work is going to take us decades to accomplish fully, because the numbers involved are vast and the innate resistances are formidable.

Human dignity has been violated again and again for centuries together in India. *In such a context, human development cannot be viewed only in economic terms; the economic approach has to become part of the wider approach of an all-round human development through education widely conceived.* Human dignity is achieved by man through mental, intellectual and spiritual awakening, and economic strength. When these four values are achieved by a person, he or she automatically becomes dignified; and millions of our people have been deprived of all opportunities to achieve the first two and the fourth of these values; through this deprivation, they remained at the bottom and were kept down there by the ratio of social forces, feudal and ossified. Because of their illiteracy, ignorance, and poverty, they themselves do not know what these forces are that are keeping them down and exploiting them all the time.

5. *Human Development through Secular Education*

Therefore, the first step that we have to take in the field of human development and to effect a revolutionary change in the ratio of these social forces, particularly with reference to our working classes, is the spread of education, *I mean secular*

education, which is a powerful factor in raising the status of a human individual. He or she must know the world in which he or she lives, the natural, the social, and the political forces acting upon him or her, so that he or she may become awake to the environment in which he or she is living and functioning and capable of suitably changing it. The purpose of secular education is to enable a human being to acquire the capacity to have a grip on the world around, and not to be swept away by its forces. A child in the village is ignorant, weak, helpless, without any hold on his life and destiny. As soon as he goes to a primary school, within a few days, something happens to him; he awakes to a consciousness of his own individual worth and dignity, that he is a man among men; he is able to understand that world and, through that understanding, to get a grip, maybe to a small degree, on that world and on himself. We can see this awakening coming to millions of our working classes today in our rural and urban areas; even a little education—secular education—bringing them a sense of human worth, human dignity, a sense of *individuality*.

From the point of view of our Vedānta philosophy, as expounded by Swami Vivekananda, the modern effort to restore individuality to the common people of India is the most tremendous educational work that we have ever undertaken during our long history. And in the light of the same Vedānta, it is also a profound work relating to the necessary initial stages of man's spiritual awakening. Because, ours is a society, where the individual has been submerged in society, submerged in the caste, submerged in the collectivity. *You are an individual with an individual identity and an individual destiny*—this is the silent spiritual message of all secular education to man. In that secular education, we are not only acquiring the three elementary items of reading, writing and arithmetic, but also a little bit of science, a little bit of health and hygiene education, something of social science—in short, some knowledge of the natural and social world in which man lives, including some knowledge of his own body. When this knowledge comes to a human being, two things happen to him or her: he or she *understands his or her own worth and dignity*, which is the first step on the ladder leading to human freedom, and he or she also *gets a grip on the world around him or her to*

that extent. Even the elementary education in a primary school that a child gets has a great part to play in rousing man's sense of individual worth and dignity. But education at least up to the eighth standard is necessary in a democracy so as to help a child to acquire this value to a satisfactory extent.

Any education for a whole people to levels higher than that is worthy to be aimed at and achieved. Countries like the United States are giving education to almost all their citizens up to the higher secondary standard. That is all the better. By such higher levels of education, we increase the mental resources of the community. As we increase the physical resources by our technology, what we need much more is this increasing of the mental resources of our nation. That resource is available to our country today only from about ten per cent of our population. Even then, it is a tremendous resource, compared to hardly five per cent in the previous centuries. We can visualiae the time, within the next 100 years, when this number will go up steadily and cover the whole population, and when we shall have, even after implementing our family limitation measures, between eight hundred million and a thousand million of our population, not as now, but well educated in the secular sense of the term. The energy of mental resources that would then be available to the nation would be simply stupendous.

6. *Human Development through Political Education*

That is the first great blessing coming from human development through secular education. Along with that, there is a new type of human development that we are having in modern India, namely, the rousing of the political consciousness of our people. *We will miss to grasp the uniqueness of modern India, if we fail to take note of this arresting fact.* For throughout the millennia of our long history, our people had no political education, and, consequently, no political awareness, no political individuality. We were all passive *subjects* of some king or emperor or military dictator, not only our working classes, but almost all our people except those of the military classes. But today, for the first time, in this modern period, we have established a democratic republican political state which derives its

strength and sanction not from a king, not from an emperor, not from a foreign potentate, as in the past, *but from the people of India*—millions and millions of our people living in diverse regions and at diverse levels of culture and economic development. *This is a new significant factor in our national situation—the emergence of man, especially the common man as a politically significant individual, as a political value, the emergence of man as citizen from man as mere subject, or as prajā, as expressed in Sanskrit and our other languages.* *Prajā* literally means offspring, such as a boy or girl, one dependent on the parents; and, in the political field, man dependent on the state. All *prajā*s are children, politically speaking. But as soon as man becomes a citizen, he sheds his *prajā* stature, his stature of being a protected ‘child’, and becomes a mature individual, a free responsible individual.

That is the stature of man in modern democratic India; it is, however, more a goal than an achievement, so far as our country is concerned; but, during the last thirty years, we have taken a few significant steps towards that goal. Every forward step in that direction will introduce this second element of strength into our nation, namely, the awakened political sense of millions and millions of the nation’s citizens. During the last twenty-seven years, ever since we proclaimed our country as a republic by adoption of our new constitution in 1950, we have been registering this human development through the political education of our common people. Our various elections, Union and State, have contributed to this political education of our people at large; our democratic state is endeavouring to educate our people into the precious value of the freedom of the individual citizen which we never had during the 5000 years of our long history. Even during the recent general elections to the *Lok Sabha*, we have witnessed the emergence of a measure of political maturity in our common people. What does it all amount to? It amounts to freedom becoming a political fact; it proclaims the realization by the common people of India that they are no more, as mere *prajā*s, or subjects, *victims* of political forces and circumstances, but are slowly and steadily emerging as *creators and makers* of their own and their nation’s political destiny.

7. *The March of Freedom*

Man as citizen becoming the maker of his political destiny is the meaning and significance of political democracy. This is what our nation is trying to do today. The various labour laws passed by our Union and State legislatures are designed to protect and improve also the economic status of our working people. But we have to confess that, in this field, we have done very little yet; even in the field of secular education, we have done very little yet. Our democratic state is taking steps, halting though, to transform our political democracy into economic and social democracy; the irritating slowness on this road is due to the drag of our long feudal heritage, on the one hand, and the exigencies of our free parliamentary democratic processes, on the other, where freedom often tends to resist social change and assist the *status quo*. But we can have the satisfaction that our nation has taken the first significant steps on that long road of human development involving a seventh of the human race, through efforts, endeavours, and processes—educational, political and socio-economic—to elevate the common man in India to the status and dignity as a man among men, not as an item among items. That is the revolutionary change that is taking place in our country in this modern period. A feudal India is getting steadily transformed into a democratic India.

If it is unfortunately, as I said earlier, a slow process, a halting process, painful process, but it is still a forward process. *Only if our intelligentsia today can really capture this meaning and significance of the modern period of Indian history, namely, straightening of the back of the common man and helping him to experience the human dignity that is his inborn right, will they get the vision and the energy to accelerate this forward motion and to welcome every opportunity to contribute to its early realization.* Our common people have been too long ground down; they have been too long suppressed from every point of view. The sense of fear, the lack of confidence in oneself, the lack of energy, the lack of that spirit of hope which means the joyous beckoning of the future—these have been their hallmark for some centuries. All these are the relics of the past-ages of oppression and exploitation and

general neglect. We have to reckon with these liabilities of our past, when we deal with our human situation today. The political freedom that we achieved in 1947 should not remain at the political level; it will then stagnate and destroy itself. *Political freedom is best when it marches on to conquer the heights of economic, social, cultural, and spiritual freedom.* Swami Vivekananda presented freedom as the central message of our Upaniṣads. In his lecture on 'Vedanta and Its Application to Indian Life', delivered in Madras in 1897, he says (*Complete Works*, Vol. III, 1973, p. 238):

And the Upaniṣads are the great mine of strength. Therein lies strength enough to invigorate the world. The whole world can be vivified, made strong, energized through them. They will call with trumpet voice upon the weak, the miserable, and the downtrodden of all races, all creeds, and all sects, to stand on their feet and be free. Freedom—physical freedom, mental freedom, and spiritual freedom—are the watchwords of the Upaniṣads.

8. *Nation-building through Man-making*

About twenty-five years ago, we started a community development programme in our country in a big way; I had been associated with it unofficially from the very beginning; even in its eventual failure, it has registered significant results; and anyone can realize the difference now in our social situation from what it was then. Our urban and rural masses were timid, helpless, weak, and suspicious, without any consciousness of their own strength. They were just items to be handled by people, either from the government or from the urban groups, or by the exploiting group in the villages themselves. From that low condition, there have been significant changes for the better during these twenty-five years. During this period, there has also been much progress in our labour movement organizing millions of our working people, though more in the urban and less in the rural areas. We have not yet organized, except perhaps in Kerala, the millions of our working people in the rural areas; but some work in that direction is being done today, including legislation to protect their economic and social rights and interests.

Through all these, we are witnessing a tremendous transformation in the human situation in our country, by which human beings, who were only fractional some decades ago, are slowly becoming integral, and becoming fuller human beings. This is human education; it has to be vigorously pursued from every avenue of approach, apart from, and in addition to, that of formal schooling. The most unsatisfactory situation prevails in this field of formal schooling; even after thirty years of independence, the blessing of universal primary education remains still far away from millions of our people. I have noticed that wherever education is widespread, some tremendous and far-reaching changes have come in the society concerned. I have seen, for example, in a State like Kerala, a high level of political consciousness, of the understanding of the social processes, of response to progressive ideals, only because of the high percentage of education among the common people there. This is true also of the other parts of the world. We have to achieve this for the whole of our nation.

Secular education, when it is spread far and wide in India, will lead to the emergence of an awakened community, full of energy, vitality, self-confidence, and a conscious grip on the social processes. They will cease to be, as I said earlier, *creatures* of the natural and social environments but become its *creators*, not *victims* of history but its *makers*. That is called human maturity: *it discloses the capacity to make one's own judgements and to face the consequences of those judgements; to have convictions and the courage to hold on to them*. If one depends every time on somebody else's judgement, he or she is just a child. It is to help man to outgrow this human childhood, and make him or her stand on his or her own feet, that forms the goal of the secular educational process. This is what Swami Vivekananda termed *nation-building through man-making*.

In India, now, these two processes are going on side by side; but their pace needs to be accelerated. Our working classes need to be provided with every opportunity for education, institutional and non-institutional, and they must be motivated towards acquiring it. That motivation to education comes only by impressing on their minds the vision of total human development, which is more important than, and which also is the end of, and even the means to, economic and social advancement.

9. Human Development: the Importance of Non-economic Factors

I have to emphasize this point that, till now, most of the labour movement in India has been concerned only with the economic aspect of human relations in industry and business—how to increase the purchasing power of the working classes, how to secure for them more salary, more wages. Certainly, this is a very important thing to do; but *unless it is treated only as a part, and not as the whole, of the philosophy and programme of human development, and unless the importance of non-economic factors is recognized and given their due place, it will defeat its own purpose.* In our national development, let us begin to ask this question and try to find the answer: can human development be ensured only by money and more money? If a worker, till now earning one hundred rupees a month, earns three hundred rupees from now, is he or she automatically a better human being?

We have rarely asked this question. This question must be asked by us from now on, in the context of the profound need of achieving, so far as man is concerned, along with economic strength and cultural strength as well. That alone can bring *quality* to human life. Quantity can be had by adding money. One may have plenty of money in his or her pocket; but how does one use that money? How can one make financial resources, small or big, achieve human development and fulfilment? That cannot be, unless the cultural level of the person is also raised. While at Karachi during the World War II years, I have personally seen the difference that the presence or absence of the cultural factor can make to the quality or otherwise in a man's life. I witnessed a qualitative richness in the life of our Ramakrishna Mission tribal school teacher getting less salary, side by side with the dismal life of the tribal people around him getting almost double his salary! We have not so far considered this point in our country, in the modern period, with respect to our working class. I wish to stress this point, because I have observed the lack of appreciation of this, particularly after independence—the constant and sole emphasis on the monetary side and the economic aspect, and the neglect of the other, more significant aspects of human development. Wage and salary increase is only one of the items of human development, call it

the primary one in a country of mass poverty such as ours, but not the sole item.

In his recent book: *Gandhi's Social Philosophy*, Professor B. N. Ganguly quotes two citations from *Letters on Historical Materialism* by the great Marxist thinker Frederick Engels, which are relevant in this connection (p. 334):

Marx and I are ourselves partly to blame for the fact that the younger people *sometimes lay more stress on the economic side than is due to it*. We had to emphasize the main principle *vis-a-vis* our adversaries who denied it; we had not always the time, the place, or the opportunity to give their due to the *other elements involved in the interaction*. (Letter dated September 21-22, 1890).

While emphasizing the fundamental process of interaction between the base and the superstructure, Engels says [continues Ganguli (*ibid.*)].

Political, juridical, philosophical, religious, literary, artistic, etc., development is based on economic development. *But all these react upon one another and also upon the economic basis. It is not that the economic situation is cause; solely active, while everything else is only passive effect. There is, rather, interaction on the basis of economic necessity which ultimately asserts itself. . . Men make their history themselves, only they do so in a given environment which conditions it* (Letter dated January 25, 1894). [italics by Ganguli].

In this connection, I wish to mention that when I go round our country and address gatherings in our public sector undertakings and discuss working class problems with their managers and other concerned people, I find that we have labour today earning anything from Rs 300 to Rs 1,000 a month. But if you ask this question whether, correspondingly, the cultural life of that particular labourer, or his group in general, has improved, you get largely only a sorry answer; more money is coming into the pockets of the workers; but much of that money is wasted. There is no corresponding increase in their quality of life: cleaner home, better hygiene—personal and environmental —, better care of children, better standards of nutrition,

happier human relations within the family, finer cultural pursuits, and more investment of money in the mental sphere of life.

In the sphere of environmental hygiene, our classes as much as our masses, our educated as much as our illiterate citizens, stand in need of urgent upgrading, stand in need of being taught that *using public roads, railway tracks and open maidans as public toilets is uncivilised as much as unhygienic.*

These things do not come automatically merely by raising the salary or wages of the individual worker. That is where there is urgent need for our trade union movement to orient itself and its activities to this philosophy of total human development and make special efforts to bring about the cultural enrichment of our working people, in addition to their economic advancement. By collective bargaining, the working class can certainly gain more of wages and salaries; that is beautiful; that is the first objective of a trade union or any other working class group. But it should be treated as a prelude to the other aspects of human development, which we have largely neglected for decades together. Among these aspects, the most important is the raising of the human cultural level, which alone results in the qualitative enrichment of human life.

In that context, we have to remember what I said earlier, that there is a wonderful cultural legacy available to us from our religious past which has touched and brightened the life of even the commonest people of our country; that touch has raised the *quality* of their life even in the context of their poverty, making them inwardly rich even though their pockets were very empty. *Can we retain the uplifting and enriching touch of that old legacy in the modern period? And can we add to it something of the new values of the modern age?* This is the problem of human development in modern India; and this problem needs to be seriously considered by our people today.

We may have our people holding diverse religious beliefs or political ideologies; we may have among our people those who do not choose to belong to any religion; there may be some among us who may not like the very word religion. But there will be none who will not respond to the philosophy and programme of total human development, of qualitative enrichment. It cuts across all political, religious, and social party

divisions. When I discussed with intellectuals in Soviet Russia or Czechoslovakia this subject of human development as raising the quality of human life, and not merely raising the salary and wage levels of workers, they readily appreciated this idea, even while being allergic to the word religion. When we speak of religion, we may have the idea of a bundle of superstitions; we may have the notion of some kind of magic and miracle and mystery; or we may associate it with the evils of a caste-ridden society. All these have been associated with religion by some group or the other. But today, thanks to Swami Vivekananda and his message of Vedānta, we have the opportunity to understand religion as the science of human development, as the grand science of the inner nature of man, as the science of human possibilities, bereft of all these cheap and weakening elements, and recognize its unique contribution to the qualitative enrichment of human life.

One fact about our society has struck me and it will strike anyone who studies it; and it is that ours is the only country where, due to the influence of our past cultural legacy, nearly 80 per cent of the people do not drink, do not feel the need for the stimulus from intoxicating beverages; whereas, in all other countries, it is a universal phenomenon, here it is a peripheral social phenomenon, with no prestige attached to it.

10. Bhakti and Bhajan: Their Unique Social Contribution

How did we achieve this kind of a unique social situation in India? People increasingly resort to drink to get stimulated, to get a kick when they are tired, when they are depressed, when they feel inwardly empty. It is then that people resort to the bottled, and other modern capsuled forms of, kick from the outside. If anyone needs it, and if he or she has no other way to overcome that inner privation, let him or her have it, says the Indian tradition. After all, man must feel stimulated, must feel trim. But our spiritual teachers and guides, and our people in general, said that there is something else which can do this service to man, and which is a pure stimulus free from the evils associated with these other ones. That is the contribution of the science of religion in its expression as *bhakti* and *bhajan*.

If nothing else is available that can lift him or her up from the depths, let him or her resort to these external aids. Our Vedānta and our sages did not and do not want our people to become killjoy ascetics. They present the very nature of God. Brahman, and the very nature of man. Ātman, as *ānanda* or *rasa*, joy: *Raso vai saḥ*. And they discovered the science of it and the technique of its manifestation in man—rich or poor, learned or ignorant, man or woman. Accordingly, Sri Ramakrishna classifies all human joys into three categories: (1) *viṣayānanda*, i.e., *ānanda* arising from *viṣaya* or sensual or organic satisfaction; (2) *bhajanānanda*, i.e., *ānanda* arising from *bhajana* or worship of God and devotional singing of His name and glory, and (3) *brahmānanda*, i.e., *ānanda* arising from the *experience* of Brahman, from the *realization* of God, the one infinite Self in man and nature. The first one is natural and ordinary, and man shares it with all animals. As such, it does not express the true glory of man. The third, on the other hand, is too high and rare. and beyond the easy reach of most human beings. But the second is available to all.

When a man begins to appreciate this second joy of *bhajanānanda*—a joy welling up from within—the earlier one of *viṣayānanda*, which is also authentic and valid, and not devil-made as some religions present it, begins to have less and less attraction for him. Giving up of *viṣayānanda* is not presented by Vedānta as an end in itself. As man experiences purer and higher joys, he spontaneously and increasingly sheds his attraction for the earlier ones, just as a child sheds his attraction for toys naturally, as his attraction for knowledge and books arises and grows. *This is a sign of his inner spiritual growth*—a growth not witnessed even in the highest of the animal species. This is the criterion of what twentieth century biology calls his *psycho-social evolution*, which it treats as the specific field of evolution at the human stage, over and above the organic evolution of the pre-human stage.

Sri Ramakrishna personified, in the modern age, the fullness of this twofold joy or bliss of *bhajanānanda* and *brahmānanda*. These truths about the riches hidden in the depths of the human spirit are illustrated and expounded in the lives and teachings of our innumerable lovable saints and devotees—Hindu

Muslim, Sikh, Christian, Jewish and Buddhist. They find expression in songs such as '*Rām ratan dhana pāya maine—I have found the gem of Rāma [in my heart]*' in Hindi; and '*surā pān kari nā āmi, sudhā khāi jay kālī bole —I do not drink surā or ordinary wine, I drink the sudhā or nectar arising from singing jai kālī [victory to Kālī],*' as often sung by Sri Ramakrishna in Bengali; and '*nidhi cāla sukhāmā? Rāmuni sannidhi seva sukhāmā? nijamuga balku manasā —O my mind! tell me truly, which conduces to happiness—wealth or the realization of Rāma?,*' as sung by Tyāgarāja in Telugu.

This profound truth is revealed in a silent tribute paid by the great Bengali dramatist and intellectual, Girish Chandra Ghosh, himself a great devotee of the joy of the bottle, to Sri Ramakrishna, the great devotee of the joy of Divine Name. Sri Ramakrishna used to attend and enjoy the dramatic performances of Girish at his Star Theatre in Calcutta, whose actors and actresses he used to bless after the performance. One day, Girish, who had only just then known Sri Ramakrishna and had been attracted to him but had not known anything about his spiritual greatness or the loftiness of his God-intoxicated states, went to meet Sri Ramakrishna in the Dakshineswar temple. As he entered Sri Ramakrishna's room, he found Sri Ramakrishna in an intoxicated condition. Seeing him in that inebriated state, Girish told his companion that Sri Ramakrishna seemed to have drunk a wine stronger than what he himself was accustomed to! There cannot be a truer and better tribute by the inebriation of the wine of the bottle, from the outside, to the inebriation of the wine of the love of God, from within! It is also the Indian national, as also the universal, tribute of all *viṣayānanda* to *bhajanānanda* and *brahmānanda*.

But Girish did not understand the true meaning of his own assessment of Sri Ramakrishna then. But he understood it fully, by degrees, later when he began to experience *bhajanānanda* himself and spontaneously gave up *viṣayānanda*, including all drinking, without Sri Ramakrishna ever exhorting him to do so even once!

It was this positive approach to what is called the drink, drug and sex problem, and not the negative reformist approach, that India has contributed to human development ages ago and that she offers to man in the modern age both in India and abroad.

Bhakti and bhajan give a joy that comes from within man giving him freedom from external dependence. And what else is freedom? As defined in our Sanskrit tradition (*Manu Smṛti*, 4.160):

Sarvaṁ para-vaśaṁ duḥkhaṁ
sarvaṁ ātma-vaśaṁ sukhaṁ;
Iti vidyāt samāśena
lakṣaṇaṁ sukha-duḥkhaḥ—

All external dependence is sorrow, all self-dependence is happiness; thus should you know in brief the nature of happiness and sorrow.

To establish our people in freedom, it is necessary to show them, by precept and example, the way of self-dependence in man's search for happiness and the stimuli for the same. The *bhajan* component of our *bhakti* tradition has served our people all these centuries as the bulwark of their spiritual freedom and as the source of their creative joy. By joining soul-stirring music to *bhakti* or devotion to God, the *bhajan* technique has saved our people from over-dependence on harmful external supports and kicks, and made them into cultured decent people even in the context of their worldly privations of ignorance and poverty. This is what Gandhiji referred to and popularized as *Rām-nām*. After a whole day's work, our working people enjoyed the singing of *Rām-nām* and became refreshed and reinvigorated. What a beautiful blessing!

Suppose that blessing is taken away from a worker; how is he or she to remove his or her tiredness and get restimulated and refreshed? The 'modernist' answer is: go to a bar and have a hearty drink. And then? Return home intoxicated, and engage in brawls and quarrels, destroying the peace of the home while emptying the hard-earned purse! Such modernist people would measure the progress of a society in terms of the number of drink and sex night clubs provided for its people! This is not, certainly, modern wisdom but only a modernist folly! This reveals a poor notion of progress—this frittering and wasting of hard-earned wages without any human development either within oneself or within the family, without any qualitative improvement in human life. This tragedy will not

happen if culture, which is essentially an inner spiritual enrichment, is added to secular education, economic betterment, and political awakening.

11. Search for Stimulants : Healthy versus Harmful

In our modern industrial society, and in our urban context of human life, work is often humdrum, life is often dry and prosaic. Men and women need some source or sources of stimulation to bring poetry and joy into their lives. One such widely available source is the cinema, and now also the T.V. They entertain; to that extent, they are fine; but in the absence of the spiritual nourishment coming from pure religion, these can and do also degrade; to that extent, they are dubious in their contribution to human development, and need to be utilized judiciously. The report of the United States Federal Commission on the causes and the prevention of violence in America has pointed its accusing finger at American T.V. So, side by side all these, something more, that can both entertain and enrich, stimulate, as well as deepen human life, and direct surplus human psychic energy to higher levels of psycho-social evolution, is necessary.

That something else is, and can be, only pure religion, which is comprehended in what the Indian tradition terms *yoga*, with its myriad expressions in physical *āsanas*, meditation, worship, prayer, *japa* or repetition of divine names, holy study, holy company, dedicated work and *bhajan*. Our people had been fortified by one or other of these creative stimuli, which gave them inner strength to stand firm against the vicissitudes of history, a fraction of which has destroyed many other mighty civilizations. *We shall be wise to keep firm our hold on these precious legacies from our past*, after removing from them all that is superstitious, all that is magical, all that smacks of exploitation, all that is weakening. We need to distil out of them, in the modern period, all that constitutes the pure spiritual nourishment of the human soul that culturally uplifts and qualitatively enriches human life, and make them available to our working classes.

We must take the warning from the bitter experiences of the otherwise advanced nations of the modern West that serious psychic and social distortions, such as drug explosions, drink

explosions, crime explosions and sex explosions, are inevitable, and make all human development turn into human tragedies, if man is deprived of the spiritual nourishments coming from pure religion, coming from the depths of the human soul, coming from the divine spark of the Ātman inherent in everyone. Why are these nations rocked by all these types of explosions—nations: considered most highly developed economically, educationally, and politically?

It is India's firm conviction, based on the comprehensive philosophy of life of her Upaniṣads and the *Gītā*, that our philosophy of human development should strive to achieve, and integrate together, human development in the *abhyudaya*, or the external socio-economic field, and human growth in the *niḥśreyasa*, or the internal spiritual field.

These explosions are mutually related, and are to be traced to the one single source of spiritual malnutrition. The American Journal *Newsweek*, in its issue of 24 January 1972, has published a lengthy despatch on the problem of the rising curve of venereal diseases in the USA. Post-independence India also is faced with this rising problem, according to Government of India statistics. Introducing the despatch, the Editor of *Newsweek* says (quoted in my book *A Pilgrim Looks at the World*, Vol. Two, p. 457) :

From every quarter of the nation, the statistics flood in. Venereal disease in the USA is epidemic and the incidence of syphilis and gonorrhoea is rising sharply among the middle and upper classes, whose members hitherto fancied themselves above the scourge. Now the VD victims include executives, physicians, and an ever-rising number of young people, particularly high school and college students. Medical men blame the Three P's—Permissiveness, Promiscuity, and the (contraceptive) Pill.

I have studied the problems of the American working class relating to economic advancement along with cultural lag during my tours of the States. I have found the workers there well paid; and the working hours per week have also been reduced. A carpenter, a plumber, or a mason earns ten to twelve dollars per hour; there is also acute shortage of such

skilled labour. It is difficult to procure their services for your domestic purposes. If you phone for a plumber, you often get the reply; Oh, he is busy, or he has gone with his wife to the Mediterranean on a cruise, or to some other far-away country on a holiday! That means they have plenty of money to spend; they can go here and there; and that is fine. But if you ask the question—What is the nature of their life?, Are they really happy?, Do they spend the hours taken off from working hours to improve their minds?, Is there a qualitative enrichment in their personal and family life?—you may more often get a negative answer. Their life is certainly more exciting, but not more rich; for that excitement entirely comes from the outside, while that richness has to come from within. Earlier generations had obtained a measure of that spiritual enrichment from Christianity, however narrow and circumscribed it might have been; but it is missing in the post-war period.

Our saints and sages have presented religion, therefore, as the science and technique for deepening the spiritual awareness of every human being. Its gifts are not from the outside but are from within man himself. It imparts to man true freedom and installs him on the throne of his true dignity. It makes man realize that his value and dignity as man are not mainly derived from the money he earns, the organic satisfactions it yields, or the power he acquires and handles—which are all variable and alienable—but that it is derived from his intrinsic nature, from the focus of the inalienable divine nature inherent in him. '*Svalpamapyasya dharmasya trāyate mahato bhayāt*—Even a little realization of this invariable and inalienable truth saves one from great fear,' says Śrī Kṛṣṇa in the second chapter of the *Gītā*.

A poor man envies a rich man; a rich man envies one richer than himself. Where is human dignity and self-respect in such a situation? It only provides the endemic breeding ground of human alienation with all its attendant social evils. Money is a focus of value; but man is a greater focus of value, says Vedānta. When a society overvalues money, it also devalues man. Feudal societies in the past, and modern materialistic urban societies today are one in committing this serious blunder. Our poor man in India in the past had derived a sense of basic human dignity from *bhakti* and *bhajan*

and the teachings of our saints. If any one insulted him, he left his service and went away; for him, his dignity and self-respect were more valuable than his wages. But in our money-centred urban society of today, we find both the poor and the well-to-do tending to become increasingly bereft of the sense of honour and self-respect, exhibiting meanness in inter-human relations, and thus eroding the cement of mutual trust that integrates man with man and man with woman in an ordered society and family. This is the difference that the presence or absence of the nourishment and stimulus of pure religion makes in the human situation.

12. *Need for a National Re-education*

We see that, in the modern age, in spite of economic upliftment, in spite of technological excitements, there is much human stress and strain and suffering, alienation, tension and suicide. We don't want to convert our homes and our society in India into well-furnished citadels of such human unfulfillments. We want our homes and our society to be suffused with the human values of love, peace, and joy. This kind of qualitative enrichment of human life can never come merely by increase of income, by increase of political awareness, by wide diffusion of secular education. These are all necessary, but not sufficient. *Here is a profound truth about man which challenges us and our wisdom today. Recognition of this truth will give us a much needed national re-education.* The West is already showing us the stirrings of such a re-education—and that too from our own sources. It is seeking to nourish itself spiritually from the rich Indian inheritance of her past and present.

The contemporary spontaneous Western response to authentic Indian spiritual techniques of meditation, *bhakti*, and *bhajan*, which I have experienced everywhere abroad, must make our people rethink our concepts and programmes of human development in our own country. Busy people in the modern West—intellectuals, housewives, workers, students, or teachers, long for this spiritual nourishment. They demonstrate once again the truth which our people have found demonstrated again and again, that *bhakti* and *bhajan* are to

be *preferred* to drink, drug, and unrestrained sex, as sources of creative relaxations and joys. Through the former, one becomes richer inside without becoming poorer externally; through the latter, one becomes poorer in the soul as well as in the purse.

This is unfortunately what is happening in post-independence India and creating great problems for our infant democracy. The price we shall be called upon to pay for this neglect of cultural refinement and qualitative enrichment of human life, in a context of expanding economic opportunities, is going to be heavy. Since independence, there has been a galloping of the drink evil in our country, along with bribery, corruption; and other corollaries. The explosions rocking Western society are not very far away from our society also. Discerning thinkers and patriots in the nation are becoming slowly aware of the seriousness of this problem. And I am happy to find that our working classes themselves have begun to recognize the drink evil as their enemy working against their cultural uplift. They are voicing through their trade union organizations, their protest against opening new liquor shops close to their factories and demanding closing of the existing ones on pay days. They are realizing the havoc and ruin they work on their individual and family welfare. They need to be helped to achieve a rise in their standard of life corresponding to the rise in their standard of earning. The opposite of this is human folly leading to human tragedy. That kind of self-cancelling process has to be reversed. Because, our people, though poor, have some notion of their inherent spiritual nature; long centuries of poverty did not destroy their spirit; poverty did not make them into economic commodities to be purchased for a few paise or rupees.

13. *The Two Foci of Human Dignity and Equality*

It is true that God or even the ballot paper has no meaning for a starving man; religion is not for empty bellies, is a saying by Sri Ramakrishna himself; the only form in which God can come to a hungry man is in the form of food, adds Swami Vivekananda, his disciple. To this we have to add now that politics and the ballot paper also have no meaning for an empty belly.

But today, during our elections, we are witnessing not only our poor, but even our middle income groups, offering themselves, and their precious democratic political franchise, as commodities to be sold for five or ten rupees to the political candidates or parties concerned, whom they want also to transport them free to the polling booths. And the candidates and parties also, on their part, encourage all these! Why? Because our people have not been educated to attach that value to themselves as citizens, and to the two foci of their dignity and equality, namely, *the ballot paper* in the hand, which is the external political focus, and *the human soul within*, which is the internal spiritual focus, which they attach to the money which they get by selling themselves as commodities. Where is democracy and human dignity in all these? These certainly are not an index of human development but of human degradation. Is it not the greatest blot on a society, especially on a democratic society, that such human devaluation and money overvaluation is allowed to take place? But it is happening in our country, which we are proud to call the largest democratic state in the world. And it will continue and worsen, until we wake up and begin to emphasize and stress in our educational, social, and political processes that human dignity proceeds not from the pocket but from the soul, from man's inalienable divine nature. That is the meaning of the Vedāntic *mantra*: *Sivo'ham* or *mukto'ham* or *buddho'ham*—"I am the good", or "I am the free", or "I am the awakened"!

Thus we see that, through this Vedāntic message, even the poorest will capture a sense of human dignity, a sense of human worth which nobody can alienate, sell, or purchase. If money becomes the central criterion of human value, then the poor shall always be striving to get more money, shall be always either cowering before the rich or seeking opportunities to rob them individually, or rise in revolt collectively; and the rich shall always be looking down upon the poor or protecting themselves with counter-revolutionary measures.

But there is another focus of value that all—rich and poor alike—have as their inalienable personality constituent, just like the political ballot paper which the rich and poor alike have in their hands in a democracy; and that is what

Vedānta calls the intrinsic; divine nature of man, the Ātman. The Prime Minister has just one ballot paper; the wage earner also has just one ballot paper; the rich man has one, the poor also has one. That is called equality in a democracy. No one in a democracy has more than one or less than one; each one has an integral political value; this is the political equality and sovereignty of man in a democracy, corresponding to his spiritual equality and sovereignty as the Ātman, integral and whole. That political equality soon becomes a shame and a joke if it is not sustained by that spiritual equality. There is no better and more inspiring song of democratic equality than what Śrī Kṛṣṇa sings in the *Gītā* (XIII, 27-28):

*Samam sarveṣu bhūteṣu
tiṣṭhantaṁ parameśvaram;
Vinaśyatsvavinaśyantaṁ
yah paśyati sa paśyati*

He who sees the Supreme Lord existing equally in all beings, imperishable in those that perish, he (indeed) sees.

*Samam paśyan hi sarvatra
samavasthitamīśvaram;
Na hinastyātmanātmānam
tato yāti parāṁ gatim—*

Seeing the (one) Lord equally existing everywhere (as the one Self in all), he does not injure the Self by the self, and thus attains the highest state.

14. Practical Vedānta

Swami Vivekananda always stressed this Vedāntic approach to human development. In his speech on 'Vedānta in Its Application to Indian Life' referred to earlier, he said:

These conceptions of the Vedānta must come out, must remain not only in the forest, not only in the cave, but they must come out to work at the bar and the bench, in the pulpit, and in the cottage of the poor man, with the fishermen

catching fish, and with the students that are studying. They call to every man, woman and child, whatever be their occupation, wherever they may be. And what is there to fear! How can the fishermen and all these carry out the ideals of the Upaniṣads? The way has been shown. It is infinite; religion is infinite, none can go beyond it; and whatever you do sincerely is good for you. Even the least thing well done brings marvellous results; therefore, let everyone do what little he can. If the fisherman thinks that he is the Spirit (the Ātman), he will be a better fisherman; if the student thinks he is the Spirit, he will be a better student, if the lawyer thinks he is the Spirit, he will be a better lawyer; and so on; and the result will be that the castes will remain for ever. It is in the nature of society to form itself into groups, *and what will go will be these privileges.*

Caste is a natural order; I can perform one duty in social life, and you another; you can govern a country, and I can mend a pair of old shoes; but that is no reason why you are greater than I, for can you mend my shoes? Can I govern the country? I am clever in mending shoes, you are clever in reading the Vedas, but that is no reason why you should trample on my head. Why if one commits murder should he be praised, and if another steals an apple why should he be hanged? This will have to go. Caste is good; that is the only natural way of solving life. Men must form themselves into groups, and you cannot get rid of that. Wherever you go, there will be caste. But that does not mean that there should be these privileges. *They should be knocked on the head.*

If you teach Vedānta to the fisherman, he will say, I am as good a man as you; I am a fisherman, you are a philosopher; but I have the same God in me as you have in you. *And that is what we want: no privilege for anyone, equal chances for all.* Let everyone be taught that the divine is within, and everyone will work out his own salvation.

Liberty is the first condition of growth. It is wrong, a thousand times wrong, if any of you dares to say: 'I will work out the salvation of this woman or child . . .'

Bring all light into the world Let light come unto

everyone: the task will not be finished till everyone has reached the Lord. Bring light to the poor; and bring more light to rich, for they require it more than the poor. Bring light to the ignorant, and more light to the educated, for the vanities of the education of our time are tremendous (*Complete Works*, Vol. III, 1973, pp. 245-47).

When I work under somebody for a wage. I temporarily place my body at his disposal in order to seek sustenance for my body and soul. That sustenance of the soul comes only through all such work done in a spirit of dedication and service in a context of dignity and freedom. If I do that work only for the sustenance of the body, it becomes slavery, it becomes the negation of human dignity. This is what is expressed in the famous song of the saint-poet Rāmprasād which Sri Ramakrishna loved to sing: '*Āmi deha bece bhaver hāṭe Śrī Durgā nām kine enechi*—Selling my body in the market place of the world I have bought and brought Mother Durgā's Name!'

This kind of understanding must come to our people in a big way today, through whatever source it may be—through literature, through art, through music, through religion. This sense of human dignity must come to all in our country, and especially to our working classes; then only will the millions and millions of our people be able to rise to the full stature of citizenship in our democracy. Then only will our *largest* democracy become also transformed into the *greatest* democracy.

15. *Human Development as Ātma-Vikāsa*

It is such an awakened working class that can really become a tremendous strength to the new process we are introducing in our industries, namely, labour participation in management. Such a step calls for the rousing of dignity and self-respect and freedom in our working people. When such people are taken into the management, the management becomes strengthened. It becomes a responsible management, an efficient management, keeping national interest, and not mere sectional interests, in view. It is this kind of human development, human maturity, that we need to achieve in the millions of our working people. *This calls for combining secular and political education with*

spiritual education. By spiritual education is not meant education in the creeds or dogmas of a religion. Spiritual education is education for spiritual growth, like education for the other two types of growth, namely, physical and mental.

All the three constitute the fullest human development—*ātma-vikāsa*. If economic development only is stressed, we get some sort of physical nourishment and physical growth. If secular and political education only is stressed, we get intellectual nourishment and mental growth. These two constitute only partial, and not full, development of man. Such partial development may achieve good results in the short run, but will become counter-productive in the long run; it will result in quantitative enrichment along with qualitative impoverishment. That will be a tragedy which we should not allow in India, but which is already being experienced by many countries abroad. We have the wisdom given to us by our great philosophers and saints, both ancient and modern, which can help us to avert that tragedy. We have our modern teachers like Vivekananda, Gandhiji, and others *who showed us the Indian approach to human development*, and to the raising of our common people.

This is the keynote guidance contained in one of the letters of Vivekananda from America, already quoted earlier: 'Keep the motto before you: elevation of the masses without injuring their religion.' If we take away that historically acquired spiritual asset from our people in the name of human development, we will convert our nation into a mess of human problems. With more physical energy made available through nourishing food, and intellectual energy through education, but no cultural refinement through spiritual nourishment, we can expect only more tensions and violence in our society, requiring more government, more laws, and more loss of true freedom. *A free self-regulating, egalitarian, and peaceful society will emerge only when a little ethical and spiritual value will spontaneously rise from the depth of the human spirit and irrigate man's personal and social life.* And we have the methods provided in our rich spiritual tradition by which to evoke these values in all human beings.

That is why I have become convinced about the importance of pure religion for human development after going round

various parts of India and abroad. Along with all the measures that we are taking to increase the economic strength and rouse the political awareness of our working classes, we must also take all necessary steps to raise their cultural level and increase their spiritual strength. By this alone will they, and the rest of our people as well, achieve happiness and fulfilment and become a source of strength to the nation. And I have every hope that, since we have available to us, as I said before, not only the wisdom of our past but also the reauthentication and reinforcement of that wisdom by gigantic spiritual personalities in the modern period, we shall achieve a high measure of total human development in our country in the coming decades. *We have to treat our country as a mighty anthropological laboratory for experimenting on total human development for a seventh of the human race.* That is how Swami Vivekananda looked upon modern India. That is how Mahatma Gandhi dealt with our great country. If we have that ideal constantly before us, then whatever we do in the fields of labour, management, industry, or business—will have one overriding purpose, namely, this purpose of human development, this aim of enthroning man in India on the pedestal of his true dignity and glory as *'amṛtasya putraḥ'*—child of immortality', as our Upaniṣads proudly proclaim.

16. Conclusion

I have no doubt that such an effort will be slowly initiated in India when *more and more of our people will understand and appreciate the Indian way to human development.* We shall have to cease following any other nation's path to human development, even while learning what other nations have to teach us on this subject.

The example and inspiration of such an India to the rest of the world is going to be tremendous. *And we shall repay in ample measure our debt to the world for what it has given us.* All this is only a hope of the future. But we have to keep that hope in view. That very hope will give light to our minds, strength to our hearts, and steadiness to our feet. That hope cannot find a better expression, and this talk cannot find a more fitting conclusion, than in the following exhortation of

Swami Vivekananda made in the course of his lecture on the 'Mission of the Vedānta' delivered in Kumbakonam in 1897 (*Complete Works*, Vol. III, p. 193):

Teach yourselves, teach everyone his real nature; call upon the sleeping soul and see how it awakes. Power will come, glory will come, goodness will come, purity will come, and everything that is excellent will come when this sleeping soul (of man) is roused to self-conscious activity.

SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITIES OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATORS

1. *Introductory*

I HAVE a very great conviction that the happiness and welfare of the people in a state depend upon the type of administration they get and, naturally, on the quality of the administrators.

Ever since we became free, we have been seized of this problem of the training of our administrators, and various institutions have been set up for this purpose. It is always a delight to me to spend some time with the intelligent young men and women of our country undergoing pre-service or in-service training for national administration. In this Institute, we have senior officers under training who, along with its staff members and several interested members of the public, provide an excellent context for me to speak on the theme: *Social Responsibilities of Public Administrators*.

2. *Freedom: What Next?*

This subject is eliciting wider and wider interest in India today. I had on several occasions addressed industrialists and business executives on the allied subject of *Social Responsibilities of Business*. These two subjects are very important themes for all of us in India. When you look around, what do you find? A vast population, very undeveloped—not even the elementary human level of existence is available to the majority of our population. And when we achieved political freedom, the first question that troubled our nation was: What does this freedom mean to all these people who have been denied the decencies of human life—not just for a few years, but for centuries together?

Speech delivered at the Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi, on 2nd August, 1977.

That question alone gives the greatest stimulus to the whole apparatus of our state with all its organs—the legislature, the executive, the judiciary, and the administration. This is a question that should be put and answered not only by our administrators, but by all sections of our citizens.

3. *Being Flowing into Function*

I consider the administrator primarily as a citizen of India, and I want the administrator also to constantly remember this truth about himself or herself. It is good for our administrators to know what that means. Nobody is born as an administrator; and nobody is always an administrator. We are all born as citizen of free India, and acquire the status of full citizenship at the age of maturity as decided by our Constitution. Some of those mature citizens choose to be, and are called upon to become, our administrators for some years of their life. This means that his or her primary individuality is not as administrator, but as a citizen of free India. We are all essentially citizens of free India called upon to perform particular functions in the service of our nation, so that that citizenship constitutes our primary *being*, and what we do as administrators, or as members of some other profession, becomes merely the *function* that he or she discharges, deriving inspiration from that *being*.

These are two words which it is good for all of us to note—*being* and *function*. I stress this because, throughout our country, there is this constant tendency to treat oneself merely as a functionary—a functionary who just performs a function; and when he or she ceases to perform that function, due to retirement or otherwise, he or she becomes *de-funct*! Defunct is the correct English word to denote such a one who has ceased to be a functionary, because he or she treated himself or herself entirely without any dimensions other than his or her function. But, if any one is centred in the dimension of his or her *being*, and pours out his or her *being* into his or her *functions*, those functions become enhanced and glorified; and he or she continues also to be full, even when he or she ceases to be a functionary.

No single human being is exhausted in any single function,

or in a number of functions, he or she performs, just as one is not exhausted in any single relationship or even in a number of relationships that one establishes with others in society. No one can say that I am only a husband or a wife or an officer or a clerk; each of these is one of a series of relationships and functions into which man enters, behind all of which stands man himself, his or her being.

This is the fruit of a profound philosophy of man which we have in our own Vedānta. We are essentially the Ātman, the infinite divine Self, limited as men and women through our bodies and minds. I do not want to go into the intricacies of this philosophy this afternoon; but I shall try to bring out the practical implications of that philosophy for man—for his function and for his life. As soon as I consider myself merely a functionary, I reduce myself to nothing. But if I know that I have got a basic *being*, a certain basic identity which I preserve throughout my life, then I invest every function I perform in society or in the state with the energy and grace of that fullness of being.

4. *Citizenship as Being and Job as Function*

That fullness of being of every one of us, in the political language, and political context of our life, consists in our *citizenship* of free India. Every one of us is primarily a citizen of India, and only secondarily a functionary, whether called upon to function as the Rashtrapati, as the Prime Minister, as a legislator, as a public administrator, as a member of one of the various professions, or as a simple housewife. These are the various functions that we as citizens are called upon and choose to perform. But the primary status of man in India, which is inalienable, is as a citizen of free India; all others constitute the functions performed by him or her which are alienable and terminable, and are like zero or zeros which get their value from the figure one before them. It is by this awareness of basic being that one becomes a focus of intrinsic worth and dignity; and by thinking merely in terms of one's functions, one tends to reduce oneself more and more to the status of zero.

So I always emphasize the point that we should be constantly aware of our primary being and allow that being to flow

into and fill all our functions. Then, those functions will achieve new and significant demensions, new quanta of energy and grace. This is a profound idea. I have seen among our people, whether working at humble levels or at high levels, several who never realize this intrinsic worth and dignity of theirs, with the result that they reduce themselves and their functions to very very elementary levels.

5. The Problem of Motivation

One of the subjects we discuss often in administration today is the subject of motivation. We have various manuals of administration; we can master all these manuals. When one appears for the IAS or the IFS, or other Union or State service examinations, one can easily master the manuals of administration; but that itself does not contain any motive power, except personal career and personal ambition. That motive power does not by itself suffice for effective functioning in administration in our democracy today. Something else is needed to energize the administration, especially the administration which seeks to be development-oriented. Without that something, an administrator becomes defunct even while functioning. What is called a dead administration belongs to that category. Often, we speak of a dead bureaucracy or a wooden bureaucracy. Bureaucracy is necessary in every state. That is part of the whole process of a government. But a functionary need not be a bureaucrat, static and wooden, though functioning as a bureaucrat. A bureaucrat is wooden and static only because he or she has no imagination, only because he or she is guided only by rules and manuals, and cannot respond to the human urges around him or her. This is the main malady of much of our administration; and we have to seek and find and apply its remedy; we have to seek and find a motive that enliven and energize our administration.

When the British were ruling over us, our political leaders used to criticize the prevailing bureaucracy as wooden, as without imagination, and without any response to the human situation. After we gained freedom and took over the administration from the British, we soon found to our dismay that we were only continuing the static tradition; we could not break away from it and start a new dynamic tradition inspired

by the national urges and patriotic motivation, which alone can make it responsive to the human urges and aspirations. This failure was entirely due to the dominance of this *functionary* attitude, the attitude of a mere careerist and job-seeker, referred to earlier, among most members of our various services.

6. *Bureaucracy: Static versus Dynamic*

A static bureaucracy and a dynamic bureaucracy are both bureaucracies; the difference lies only in the attitude; the first represents a low notion of man as a mere functionary, man as a mere bureaucrat. That is a very poor state of man, in which he or she draws from his or her function to enrich his or her inner being which is otherwise empty; and this is the state of mind that is prone to, and often succumbs to corruption. The second represents man as inwardly rich in his being, in the strength of citizenship awareness and patriotic impulse, and pouring out that richness into his or her function. And this attitude fosters the service spirit and contains much innate strength to resist and overcome corrupting influences. In these contexts, *attitude* plays a great part. A change of attitude can produce tremendous results. And attitude is something that one can control, that one can manipulate, that one can make to grow. This attitude control is an integral part of a philosophy of man, which can enrich both one's being and function.

Such a philosophy of administration is available to all of us in this country, both from modern sources as well as from our own ancient sources. I have often felt that this woodenness needs to be transformed, so that men and women become alive and vibrant, become responsive, become responsible. We cannot but admire people who are moved by ideas and visions, and who respond to human situations; it is they who become great administrators, with *imagination* as their greatest asset. This quality of imagination is a remarkable value; when it is gone, man becomes static and sterile, and bereft of dynamism and direction. That alone constitutes bureaucracy in the bad sense. The emergence of such a bureaucracy on the heels of our political freedom was and still is a serious tragedy for our free nation, particularly because we sought political

freedom in order to work freely for the good of our people, in order to transform the human situation in our country in our own way. Hundreds of stifling years of political slavery, human oppression, and human suffering, lay behind our nation, when it awoke to freedom at the stroke of midnight on 15 August 1947 and entered into its 'tryst with destiny' with a sense of joy and hope.

But within a short time, the ecstasy of freedom evaporated, the poetry of life and adventure became converted into the prosaic business of seeking money and power and pleasure. Something went wrong with our nation, bringing in its wake social evils like corruption, various malpractices, and unconcern for the common man and his welfare. It is only such a philosophy as delineated above that can now help the nation to reverse this tragic process. In its light, every function that we do in the state and society becomes surcharged with energy, joy, and enthusiasm. That philosophy helps us to put our actions in the context of a profound vision of human growth and development, both individual and collective, and imbues those actions and functions with meaning and significance which otherwise they do not possess.

That is the importance of being guided by a philosophy of administration. We use the word 'service' in social life and administration, often euphemistically; we need to make its use accord with its real sense. We all do little acts of service to other beings; but that is just a routine humdrum experience. But once we place these little or big acts of service in the context of a philosophy of human growth and fulfilment, every such service becomes meaningful, spontaneous, and natural. Man then makes the mood and act of service a constant feature of his personality, which expresses itself inter-human relationships with a spontaneous. 'What can I do for you?' 'How can I help?' If that becomes a constant mood and mode, then that person has achieved a profound education, has achieved the first stages of his spiritual growth, *ātma-vikāsa*.

7. What Constitutes Human Efficiency

It is this human transformation that must come to all our

administration, and also to all men and women in our various professions. We have a great message on this subject in a verse of one of our Upaniṣads, namely, the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, only next in importance and size to the greatest among all the Upaniṣads—the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*. These are between three thousand and four thousand years old. What inspiring and profound ideas come out of this great literature of so ancient a period of human history! What is the source of human work-efficiency?—that is the question, to which the *Chāndogya* verse gives the following answer (I.11.0);

*Yadeva vidyayā karoti, śraddhayā. upaniṣadā, tadeva,
vīryavattaram bhavati*

It is a very simple Sanskrit utterance. *Yadeva karoti*—whatever is done; *vidyayā*—through knowledge—what we call today the ‘know-how’. The first thing to acquire is the ‘know-how’ of a task. Is that enough? No, says the Upaniṣad, and adds: *śraddhayā*—through *śraddhā*—faith or conviction; there must be faith in the great urges and longings of man in front of me, faith in the work I am called upon to do to fulfil those urges, and faith in myself—*ātma-śraddhā*—in my capacity to rise to the occasion. Even these two are not enough. A third quality is also necessary, namely, *upaniṣadā*, through deep thinking and contemplation. Actions done with these three energies behind them alone become not only efficient, *vīryavat*, but more and more efficient, *vīryavattaram*, says the verse.

8. Mere Technical Know-how: Its Limitations

We were under the impression that the first alone was sufficient, *vidyā* or the know-how. And we tried to do for some years in our various services with only that first item. A candidate for our services thought to himself or herself: I have studied in a college; I have got a high degree, topping in marks; I have appeared for the competitive examination; I have passed; and I have joined my present service. But, in spite of all this, the candidate does not show the energy and efficiency to make for a dynamic and dedicated administrator. Why? Because, mere knowledge is static; it has no motivation.

The late Bertrand Russell also expressed the view that mere knowledge does not have any motivation within it; that comes from a different source, namely, the field of emotions and sentiments in man. Something must stimulate knowledge; otherwise, it remains static and unable to influence human action. Our knowledge, said Russell, that any two sides of a triangle are greater than the third side, does not motivate us, while walking, that we should go by the short side and not by the long sides. That motivation comes from some other inner source in man. Mere knowledge that obtains in our schools and colleges and universities, even at its best—and it is rarely that it rises to that level—contains no energy of emotion and sentiment relating to ideals of human excellence or to patriotism and national dedication, which alone can stimulate that knowledge to develop into character-excellence and to make it dynamic, make it into a 'man-making education' leading to a 'nation-building' resolve, in the luminous words of Swami Vivekananda.

This has been our weakness, especially after independence. Mere intellectualistic education, without the humanistic impulse injected into it, cannot have dynamism within it, except that which sustains mere personal ambition. The result is heart-stagnation, and the incapacity of its products to infuse knowledge with human purposes and national dedication. This is what we have to correct, if we want to make our politics and administration and citizenship itself dynamic and effective; otherwise, the tragedy, which we are seeing already, will only deepen. What can be a greater tragedy than a static politics and administration functioning in a dynamic national *milieu*! For the nation around is dynamic, full of new urges, new aspirations, in the throes of a new allround awakening among millions and millions of our people. Such a tragedy, if continued longer, can breed serious revolutionary upsets, jeopardizing our infant democratic experiment. That is why there is an urgent need to develop a dynamic administration to match, and overmatch, our revolutionary social context.

The truth of contemporary India is that we are living through the most dynamic and revolutionary age of our long history. Millions of people, who have been, and had been taught to be content with being, mere hewers of wood and

drawers of water, are fast awakening to their human rights and dignity; and, as they do so, they develop a sense of individual identity and become a focus of tremendous energies born of aspirations and desires for a better life. The nation has to rise to the occasion to satisfy them, to fulfil them! That is the meaning and role of administration in a democratic state which seeks to develop into a welfare state. In order to gear our administration to the human purposes of that national and social *milieu*, we need to effect a complete transformation within the administration itself.

9. *Need for Śraddhā*

That is the profound theme of our discussion : the administration getting energized and transformed by knowledge becoming infused with the energy of human motivation. That is the significance of the second value called *śraddhā* mentioned in the verse. It is this precious value that lies as the stimulating force behind all human greatness in the fields of physical science, the science of spirituality, and social life.

Throughout India, there is this dynamic social setting; people are getting education; they are getting new ideas; they were all submerged, for a few hundred years, in the mass, in the crowd. That was India. *Submerged* is the correct word. They use it in sociology—man submerged in the class, in the caste, in the crowd, in the collectivity. There is no true human energy in man in that state; that is a state akin to sleep, so far as man is concerned. As soon as he is rescued out of the collectivity and *installed* in his own individual dignity and power, he becomes a focus of true human energy—the energy of desire, of urges, of satisfactions, of aspirations. Man wants to grow; he is dissatisfied to remain merely as a *victim* of circumstances, as a *creature* of history. That is man as the focus of tension—awakened, self-conscious, and hope-stirred, with a better future beckoning him.

That is the India that is taking shape all around us in the modern period. Our spiritual teachers have welcomed this great change on our human horizon, especially Swami Vivekananda. He has characterized the modern period of Indian history as particularly unique and significant from this point

of view. He visualized the common man finding his own identity and dignity in this modern period. They will get back their individuality which they had not had for many centuries. They were lumped together as 'the masses', psychically asleep, inert, without any inner tension arising from desire, ambition, and hope; ever resigned to accept any socio-political situation, any foreign conqueror, or native oppressor, to rule over them and exploit them. Now, that India is dead, never to rise again in the following prophetic words of Swami Vivekananda, uttered in his first lecture on landing on the soil of India, at Ramnad, on 25 January 1897, after his four years of glorious work in the West (*Complete Works*, Vol. III, pp. 145-46):

The longest night seems to be passing away, the sorest trouble seems to be coming to an end at last, the seeming corpse appears to be awaking,...India, this motherland of ours from her deep long sleep. None can resist her any more; never is she going to sleep any more; no outward powers can hold her back any more; for the infinite giant is rising to her feet.

This was uttered even while the whole of India appeared to be content and cozy in the new peace of British subjugation. It is that awakening that, beginning as a trickle in the initial stages, developed into a strong current during the country's fight for political freedom, and has now become a veritable flood. And much of our politics and administration are yet to become revolutionized and galvanized to be able to discipline and to canalize into constructive national purposes, the energy of that flood. That revolutionary change will come only when pure and powerful human and patriotic emotions become yoked, first, to our education, and then, to our politics and administration. The energy of imagination has to be yoked to the energy of knowledge to galvanize the activity of our administration.

In my lectures to administrative staff in various parts of India, I often refer to the need for, what I have termed, *imaginative sympathy* in our administrators, to make our administration responsive and efficient. The files in the Indian secretariats—in the Centre and in the States—move very very slow; this is a

complaint about government secretariats all over the world; but nowhere is it so serious a malady as in our country. Our industrialists or our foreign collaborators, apart from our common people, often complain about this malady. Things move very slow in our secretariats. I often used to ask, why so? The secretariat file is obviously something inert; dead; it has no energy and no dynamics in itself. It is only the man sitting behind the file that has the energy and dynamism to make it move. But if he also is inert and dead, then nothing will move anywhere. How to make him alive? How to make him the focus of energy and dynamism?

Even this very question, and much more its answer, can never be found in our current school and university education. It can only be the fruit of an education that has injected the human and patriotic motivation into the knowledge-seeking process. That humanistic impulse and motivation firing our educational processes will alone give to the nation the services of batches and batches of dynamic *trained minds*, endowed with *imaginative sympathy* for the common people and *impersonal loyalty* to our free state and constitution, instead of the current mass production of self-centred and static *stuffed brains*. On this subject, Swami Vivekananda's stirring words couched in a letter are supremely relevant (*Complete Works*, Vol. V, p. 58, Seventh Edition):

So long as the millions live in hunger and ignorance, I hold every man a traitor who, having been educated at their expense, pays not the least heed to them!

When our people were mostly asleep at that time, Vivekananda spoke of a man-making education and a nation-building faith and resolve, and inspired the nation with a pure human passion, saying: Wake up; why are you sleeping? And how can you continue to sleep when the greatest opportunity to build up the manhood and womanhood of our nation is before us during this momentous period of our long history? Use your education and your energies to raise your people, to give back to them their lost individuality, and to instal them in their human worth and dignity. This is true politics; this is true religion. Be and make, shall be our motto; be men

yourselves, and help others to be men. This is how he presented the human motivation; this is the way he injected tremendous energy into our culture in our time, similar to the galvanic humanizing-touch it received from Śrī Kṛṣṇa and Bhagavān Buddha earlier.

10. *Need for Upaniṣad*

Here is an attitude that can energize any work and function in our society today. The carpenter, the stone-cutter, the shoe-maker, the student, the teacher, the administrator, the industrial executive, the housewife—each and all in the nation can become energized by this one thought that I am primarily a citizen of free India and that the work that I do has got a tremendous human and national reference; as an administrator I have been called by our free state to be the instrument of a tremendous human purpose. This is the energy, and its manward direction, that *śraddhā* and *upaniṣad* impart to mere *vidyā*, that transform mere static opinions into dynamic lived convictions.

When I speak to teachers and students in our schools and universities, I often refer to this luminous attitude presented by Swami Vivekananda. Why is our education so stagnant, especially what is given in most of our government schools and colleges? Because most of our teachers are not awakened to the truth of their high status, to the truth of their inalienable *being* as free and responsible citizens of free India, but behave merely as performers of a paid *function*. They are aware of themselves simply as job-seekers and job-holders and nothing else. A sense of mission, and the *ātma-śraddhā* flowing from it, is lacking in their lives and in the functions they perform. What a great tragedy! What greater work can we ever be called upon to do than that of imparting light and life to the millions of our own people who have been sunk in the darkness of ignorance for ages?

I often tell our teachers: When you enter your class room to teach, first of all, stand before the class, glance at the faces of the children in front of you, and, with your *imaginative sympathy*, try to peer into their minds and hearts, and ask your mind this one question: What am I here for? Who are

these children in front of me? And the luminous and liberating answer will come to you: These children come mostly from our rural and backward sections and areas; they have been submerged for centuries in the collectivity; but in this modern period, they have a chance to become awakened to their human worth and dignity and live a fulfilled life, and become truly human. They have come to the school in search of this blessing which our free nation has promised them. I, as the teacher of this school, have the privilege to be the instrument to convey that blessing to them. Behind me lies the wealth of knowledge and inspiration, ancient and modern; behind me is the freedom that we have won, and the promises it has made to our people. In front of me is a batch of the millions of our children, coming batch after batch, and hungry for this very blessing; and I have the blessed privilege, as a citizen of free India, called to be a teacher, to be a focal point of the energy streams of the great heritage of human knowledge and our national freedom and its promises, behind me, on the one hand, and of the mounting human urges and aspirations of my nation, in front of me, on the other. With this conviction, with this awareness of a profound truth, you cease to be a mere static individual drawing a petty salary and working in a nook or corner of the vast land of India, but become transformed into a dynamic *person*, into a flaming instrument of the national and human purposes. And then, when you open your mouth to teach, whatever you say or instruct will inspire and elevate the children in front.

That is the art of nation-building. This constitutes the *upaniṣad* part of the three constituents of efficiency referred to earlier. This I say to everyone—whether it is a group of teachers, or a group of professionals, whether it is a group of industrial executives, or administrators, or politicians. Its relevance in toning up our administration is immense. When an administrator sits before his table in the secretariat, and asks the question to himself as above: What is my identity? and finds the relevant answer, also as above, how much dynamism will come to our administration! This pause before one's function is meant to fill one's function with one's true being; and this galvanizing process, let me repeat, is what the verse means by its third word—*upaniṣadā*, 'through meditation'.

To a *trained mind*, this becomes *habitual, spontaneous, and natural*. How few of our administrators, or teachers, or other national functionaries, ask this question to themselves before they start work, and find the right answer from their hearts! No wonder then that stagnation stares us tragically in our face in many vital areas of our national life. Let us from today administer the galvanic touch of this philosophy, of *being* flowing into, and enriching, one's *function*, to the nation by asking this question and receiving the correct answer from our chastened hearts.

11. *Motivation in the Light of Buddhi-yoga of the Gītā*

Every administrator obviously commences as a job-seeker after finishing his or her education; that is perfectly natural. He or she has to earn a living and seek to live a full life, that is beautiful. But once a job is found, and one shifts one's seat from his or her home to the secretariat or public office chair, a different attitude, a new philosophy, must begin to inspire him or her. One has then ceased to be a job-seeking individual; he or she is a new personality then. What is this new personality? He or she is then the focus of the urges of millions of people in his or her nation, and he or she is there to respond to these human urges. That is what makes the administrator dynamic in every sense of the term. And that is the significance of the pause before commencing one's function referred to earlier. I can promise that no person will be the same, once he or she captures even a bit of this dynamic attitude. The *Gītā* stresses this value of an expansive 'attitude' again and again in its philosophy of work, so that work may achieve a double efficiency—social productivity externally and spiritual enlightenment internally. The *Gītā* calls it *buddhi-yoga* (II.34): *Buddhya yukto yayā Pārtha karmabandham pranāsyasi*—'endowed with which *buddhi*, O Arjuna, man destroys all bondage arising from work.'

In all self-centred life and work, the whole attitude is narrow, contracting and constricting the spirit of man. Man, so high in the scale of evolution, and endowed by nature with organic capacities capable of achieving spiritual freedom and fulfilment—individual and collective—needs a higher philosophy

of life and work, making for his spiritual growth and expansion. If you have that attitude when you work, that work would not bind you; and that work will also bring blessings to other people. The *Gītā* centres this philosophy in its *buddhi-yoga* or *yoga-buddhi* (II.49):

*Dureṇa hyavaram karma
Buddhi-yogāt Dhanañjaya;
Buddhau śaraṇam anviccha
kṛpāṇāḥ phalahetavaḥ—*

Work (done with mere selfish promptings) is, verily, far inferior, O Arjuna, to that performed with the *yoga* of *buddhi* (enlightened reason); seek refuge in this (*yoga* of) *buddhi*; small-minded are they who seek (only) selfish results.

I am here to fulfil the urges of many of my people. My galvanic touch can brighten their life; my unconcern and carelessness can darken many lives. I am sitting on this chair of authority and power, at the very focus of human aspirations and urges; even at home, I am so; but here, it constitutes the main overriding purpose and consideration of my position. This consciousness must be captured by every administrator, first at the secretariats of other offices, later as a permanent attitude. This is what the *Gītā* terms as becoming a *yogi*, as becoming a *raja* and a *ṛṣi* in one, as verse two of chapter four puts it. Even a bit of this *yoga* can make our administration more and more dynamic, and enable our nation to catch up with our mountainous human problems day by day, and the promises of the Constitution to become implemented in the lives of millions and millions of our people. This is what an administrator should be in a state which hopes to become a welfare state for a seventh of the human race.

12. *The Evils of a Sole Money Motivation*

In this philosophy of *buddhi-yoga*, we get the meaning of that weighty concept of motivation. Too long have we associated this word 'motivation' with only one narrow factor,

namely, money, or salary and wages. Today, many thinkers, political and social, tell us that money as a motivation is all right in the early stages: it can go some steps; beyond that, it is absolutely dead. It is counter-productive. No human motivation can be generated and sustained for long by merely paying more salary and wages. That motivation comes from another human source; it comes as an inner response from stirring the depths of the human spirit: I am a citizen of India; it is a proud privilege for me to be called upon to shoulder this great national responsibility. That is the motivation that evokes the best from a person, that aspires all high dedications and vast energies. On the one side, there is this love of money as a personal motivation; on the other side, there is this profound spiritual and human motivation. The *Gītā* philosophy of work does not ask one to ignore or neglect the former, but only to place it in the context of the latter.

But our post-independence national tragedy has been that we tended to stress and over-stress the former, and completely overlooked the latter. We persuaded ourselves to believe there is only one worthy pursuit, namely, money and more money. This mad rush, unrelieved by any sense of personal dignity, national duty, and honest work, continued merrily, until we generated and fostered a strange malady in our body-politic, which has afflicted no other nation in history, nor our own nation in the past, namely, our recent attitude to regular salaries and wages, on the one side, and the overtime payments, on the other. It has a very comic aspect with naturally tragic overtones, when millions of our employees told themselves and the nation that the wages and salaries one gets is one's right, whether one works or not, and that the overtime is that for which one works. I need not turn out an honest day's work to deserve my salary; that must come to me anyway, since I am already on the job! Imagine the low depths to which the sole money motivation has taken the nation! It has banished all sense of dignity and worth, which finds expression in all decent societies in the awareness: I am getting my salary or wage; I must honestly discharge my duties for which I am paid. That sense of personal pride and honour in being the particular functionary of society, and the sense of duty and obligation flowing from it, became a rare commodity in our country. In

its place came the cynical attitude: I must have money, more money, and nothing else. If I attend office, if I work, it is according to my convenience, it is out of my sweet will.

The sense of duty, of punctuality, of social responsibility and human responsiveness, the attitude of being helpful to the people who resort to offices, which is the hallmark of all free and disciplined peoples, have never found entry into the attitudes of thousands of our administrative and other social functionaries, to whom to be a careerist and job-holder constitute the only human excellence! Never does the feeling that I am doing wrong to my country, that I am not only 'in India', but also 'of India' and 'for India', disturb such people. These are two different expressions to indicate two different attitudes: 'in India' and 'of India' and 'for India'. Most of the people are just 'in India' only. They have yet to graduate to being 'of India and for India'. That change makes a world of difference. We can imagine the revolutionary transformation that our administration will undergo at all levels, when this latter attitude pervades it. What dynamism will come to our administrators, whether high or low in status! If one such officer or employee is sent to a remote corner of the country to work there, in four or five years, he or she will transform the social and economic situation there. Everywhere, there was darkness around, filth around, helplessness around; but that one person has changed all that situation.

13. Creativity versus mere I.Q.

Our administrators must seek out a philosophy which will help them to become democratic instruments of revolutionary social change and transformation. At present, that liveliness, that dynamism, is largely lacking; and yet, the country itself is longing for these revolutionary changes. How can we infuse this new energy into our administration, at the Union and State and parishad and panchayat levels? We have seen that mere intelligence is not enough, mere getting a first class in the university examination is not enough. In fact, experience shows that often far more effective work is done by those who do not get any first class at all. We have stressed too much the I.Q. or the Intelligence Quotient factor and neglected many other

vital factors. The most intelligent men are not necessarily the most efficient, the most virtuous, or the most humane in any society. Human efficiency is not measured by the single intellectual factor. It is only one of the factors. The whole mind or personality is not covered by it. Administrative efficiency, therefore, cannot become the function of mere intelligence. By itself, as we have seen earlier, it is something static. It cannot deliver the goods. Other parameters are necessary and, most essentially, that humanistic impulse which alone can give a human response to a human situation. The main question to ask oneself is: Do I feel in my very being as a free man among freemen? Or, putting it in the language I used earlier, do I feel my heart pulsating with the spirit of citizenship? Am I a patriot? Do I love my fellow-citizens? If the heart responds 'yes', then that human motivation will become natural to me. Then, even with a lesser I.Q., I can do wonders. So creative intelligence does not lie merely with I.Q. Creativity comes from *imagination*—a wonderful word and value which we need to keep constantly before us.

14. *Significance of Imagination in Evolution*

What is the significance of this word *imagination*? In modern neurology, imagination emerges as a unique datum at the stage of human evolution. It is not present at the prehuman stages, even in the chimpanzee, which is closest to man. The first man that appeared on the horizon of organic evolution had been blessed by nature with this new value within himself: imagination—image-making capacity, the capacity to image in one's mind the possible situations and consequences arising from a sensory stimulus, before sending out a motor reaction; it is the capacity to prerehearse the scenes before the actual act. This capacity, and the new datum of awareness of the self that it involves, and its offshoots of the related capacities for reasoning, judging, and willing, including speech communication, made man the dominant species in nature, says neurology, which also hints that any other animal would have become dominant in nature, if it had developed this new capacity.

This precious value of imagination, which is the stimulus behind art, science, and religion, has a great part to play in

the field of administration. All creativity is centred in imagination; all successful inter-human relationships depend upon imagination. Since administration is the science and art of human management with a view to securing human development, the administration needs to be gifted with their precious value of imagination over and above intelligence. Here comes the importance, in all administrators, of a capacity for *imaginative sympathy*, to which reference had been made earlier. Most people have the capacity for sympathy in the elementary sense. If a poor man comes and cries for help before a person, that person will respond with at least the tossing of a coin towards him. This is concrete sympathy, which our *ghasthas*, or householders, normally possess; and most people's charity and sympathy may also end up at that level. But it is a very static and humdrum type of sympathy. As man evolves spiritually, he develops a higher type of sympathy with wider ranges of expression. This is what that *ghastha* acquires when he grows into the citizen; and such growth, with its by-products of ethical awareness and human response, marks the early stages of man's spiritual growth. This is what I call the capacity for *imaginative sympathy*.

One may not see an actual suffering man in front; yet he can imaginatively see and experience the privations and sufferings of thousands of men and women far and near. This is the capacity that an administrator needs to develop, by which, though often sitting within the walls of the secretariats or other offices, far away from actual human problems, he or she can imaginatively experience them, sympathize with them, and respond to them. Such imaginative sympathy is spontaneously stirred in him or her, as soon as he or she opens a file in front; for that file speaks to him or her volumes about problems of people far and near, who are behind the file. With that triggering action of imaginative sympathy, the file, otherwise inert and dead, becomes alive, and the administrator responds to the human situation quickly and efficiently, and the nation marches from progress to progress, tearing down unnecessary red-tapes on the way.

15. *Individuality to Grow into Personality*

This is the type of transformation that our administration

must achieve. The quality of administration depends upon the administrator behind it. It hinges on the answer to the question: Is he or she a static *individual* or a dynamic *person*? I use these two words, individual and person, with very specific meanings. Each one can, and needs to, ask that question to himself or herself: Am I a static individual or am I a dynamic person? A human being achieves individuality by the strengthening of his or her ego; that strength of ego gives him or her the experience of the value of individual freedom. And this freedom brings with it energy and dynamism which, at that level of individuality, is limited to the service of the ego only. That energy cannot respond to human situations, unless these have reference to the vital interests of the ego itself, or to the interests of the little genetic circle centred in itself. All such individuality and freedom are genetically determined and restricted.

This is the limitation of term *grhastha*; within its genetic limits, it expresses its own spiritual and human beauty and charm. Individuality thus signifies a closed-in state, like a billiard ball, as characterized by the late Bertrand Russell, whose relationships with other similar human individuals can only be co-existence and collision. But man needs to learn to enter into, and be entered into by, other human beings, to dig affections into each other, outside the narrow genetic circle, in order to achieve human fulfilment. This capacity comes only when *individuality* grows into *personality*, adding, in the process, the value of responsiveness and responsibility to the already achieved value of freedom. This marks the spiritual growth of the *grhastha* into the citizen, in whom the feeling of human concern breaks down all genetic barriers. All ethical awareness and social feeling, all human concern, dedication, and service are but by-products, natural, spontaneous, and constant, of such spiritual growth from the *genetically limited ego of individuality* to the *spiritually expansive self of personality*. Accordingly, the terms 'personality' and 'person' are defined by the late Sir Julian Huxley thus ('Introduction' to Chardin's *The Phenomenon of Man*, p. 20):

Persons are individuals who transcend their merely organic individuality in conscious participation.

Mark the enriching and expanding power of imagination in this change from the individual to the person. And all efficient administrators *are persons*, and *not mere individuals*; and to make all administration efficient, and responsive to the human situation, all administrators, high or subordinate, need to understand and achieve this spiritual growth from individuality to personality.

The more such spiritual growth, the greater the administrator. In all such personality, there is great reserve of energy and power along with imagination, making for the *human touch*, and for *calm, silent, and steady work*, which is one of the important tests of efficiency. This contrasts with the energy and power disclosed at the level of individuality, which is noisy, fussy, ostentatious, and jerky, which is indication of its comparative inefficiency, like a fussy car of low horse-power engine beside a calm and steady car of high horse-power engine. We wrongly identify personality with good looks, good dress, and artificial smartness; and in our country, alas, with a little command of English, too! This growth from individuality to personality constitutes the first stage of human spiritual growth, according to Śrī Kṛṣṇa's philosophy of *yoga* in the *Gītā*; it similarly constitutes the early stage of man's psycho-social evolution, according to the philosophy of evolution, at the human stage, of twentieth century biology.

16. *Psycho-social Evolution as Spiritual Growth*

This concept of human spiritual growth, this concept of human psycho-social evolution, has immense reference to our country today, not only for our administrators, but also to all the citizens in our democracy, where citizenship is understood only in terms of physical maturity of 21 years or 18 years of age! Energy of dedication and service cannot come to us without taking the first steps on that long road of spiritual growth, and that long road of psycho-social evolution; the capacity for team work also cannot come without that same transformation. Individuals are often fine people by themselves, but they often tend to collide with other individuals when put together in a team; this applies even to people engaged in scientific research work in the modern period. The

constant in-fightings, jealousies, and intrigues, which today plague our administration, scientific research, and political life, which thwart human purposes and obstruct national progress, and which cause much human heart-burning and suffering, can be reduced to the tolerable minimum, if man in India learns to take these first few initial steps in his or her spiritual growth, in his or her psycho-social evolution. Never did we, as a people, stand in greater need of repending to Śrī Kṛṣṇa's exhortation in the *Gītā* as we do today (VI.46): *tasmāt yogī bhavārjuna*—'therefore, be a yogī. O Arjuna'.

The *yoga* of the *Gītā* is not religion in the narrow sense of creed, ritual, and piety; it is a comprehensive philosophy of human growth, development, and fulfilment, individual and collective, in which creeds, rituals, piety, prayer, and meditation, as well as all forms of work and labour, find place.

Spiritual growth is a profound idea. Human growth is a theme dear to all human beings. Most people, and most philosophies, confine themselves to two types of growth, namely physical and intellectual. The most crucial, from the point of view of human fulfilment and happy and fruitful inter-human-relationships, is the most misunderstood, often cavilled at and neglected, third type of growth, namely, the spiritual: *svalpa-mapyasya dharmasya trāyate mahato bhayāt*—'even a little of this philosophy can save man from great fear', says the *Gītā* (II.40).

17. Arrested Development of Humanity in India

Applying this to even the limited national sphere of our administration, we can realize the truth of the above promise of the *Gītā*. If our administration, at all its levels, can capture this imaginative sympathy, and the service attitude it engenders, even a little, how many great blessings will follow for the good of our nation, what faster and faster pace of economic and social development will set in, for the happiness and welfare of our people, and what character-strength will it confer on the country from top to bottom! The current mood of callousness and unconcern, the utter lack of a sense of duty and spirit of service, and rampant corruption cannot, and should not be allowed to, continue longer, if the nation is to succeed in its

chosen path of peaceful and democratic revolutionary progress for its immense population.

Compared with many countries, which are frankly materialistic but which have captured widely the mood and spirit of service in its government and public service institutions, our country's record in these fields is dismal, even though we claim it to be a deeply religious nation. One half of humanity in India suffers from arrested spiritual development, while another half suffers from arrested material development. Go to any office in any other country; if you are in difficulty, the woman or the man at the counter will accost you with a 'What can I do for you?' or 'How can I help you?' And what is the general situation in our country? If you are in some difficulty, you are greeted with callousness, and left to yourself, to stew in your own juice, while the man or the woman at the counter will be chatting and cutting jokes with each other among the staff, ignoring you all the time. This kind of callous behaviour results from stagnation at the organic level and absence of that elementary spiritual growth referred to earlier.

Our offices treat a VIP with effusive benevolence; but it treats an ordinary citizen with cold indifference, throws his application or submission at his face, saying that it is faulty. If it is faulty, can he not help him to correct it? Is he not there, on behalf of the government, to serve the people? Such considerations will strike only refined minds; but, alas, of such people we have too few; and of the unrefined, static, and self-centred people we have too many! This is our main human problem all over India—in government offices, LIC, banks, air services, railways, pensions offices, etc.

Unless we change this situation, unless our men and women change their current dismal philosophy of static life and work, and adopt the luminous philosophy of dynamic spiritual growth delineated earlier, our democracy will continue to be afflicted with ailments and more ailments.

18. Yoga as a Philosophy of Human Excellence

What a beautiful vision of human excellence is available to us in this philosophy! This is the philosophy, in all its heights and depths, that the *Gītā* teaches throughout its eighteen

chapters in the name of *yoga-śāstra*, the science of *yoga*. I often ponder as to what is the philosophy that we need for our politics and administration. And the answer comes simple and straight: It is the philosophy of *yoga* as taught by the *Gītā*, but not any and every *yoga* taught by many other books of our tradition, which also have their relevance, but only in their limited fields. The country stands to gain immensely by trying to grasp correctly, and implement effectively, according to the measure of each one's capacity, its exhortation: *tasmāt yogī bhavārjuna*, in the light of its three definitions of *yoga*, namely, *samatvaṁ yoga ucyate*—'*yoga* is equanimity'; *yogaḥ karmasu kauśalam*—'*yoga* is efficiency, dexterity, in action'; and *duḥkha-samyoga viyogaṁ yoga samjñitam*—'*the disconnection with all connection with pain is called yoga*'.

Our people have to shed all cheap magical and pseudo-mystical ideas associated with this word *yoga* and, then, with a clear mind, understand this *yoga* philosophy of the *Gītā*. We had associated *yoga* with everything except what Śrī Kṛṣṇa meant it to be—with changing one's external dress or appearance, with *prāṇāyāma*, with miracles, etc. In all these, we had neglected the fundamental *budhi-yoga* emphasis on work efficiency and character-efficiency, renunciation of the ego through detachment, and service of fellow human beings. It was this misuse and abuse of a great philosophy that called forth Swami Vivekananda's sharp words in the course of his famous lecture on the *The Future of India*, given at Madras in 1897 (*Complete Works*, Vol. III, pp. 300-301, Eighth Enlarged Edition):

So give up being a slave. For the next fifty years, this alone shall be our keynote—this our great Mother India. Let all other vain gods disappear for the time from our minds. This is the only god that is awake, our own race, everywhere his hands, everywhere his feet, everywhere his ears, he covers everything. All other gods are sleeping; what vain gods shall we go after and yet cannot worship the god that we see all around us, the *Virāṭ*? When we worshipped this, we shall be able to worship all other gods. Before we can crawl half a mile, we want to cross the ocean, like Hanuman! It cannot be. Everyone going to be a *yogi*, everyone going to meditate. It cannot be. The only way is to be a *Virāṭ*.

world, with *karma-kāṇḍa*, and in the evening sitting down and blowing through your nose! Is it so easy? Should *rsiṣ* come flying through the air, because you have blown three times through the nose? Is it a joke? It is all nonsense. What is needed is *citta-suddhi*, purification of the heart. And how does that come? The first of all worship is the worship of the *Virāt*—of those all around us. *Worship* it. *Worship* is the exact equivalent of the Sanskrit word, and no other English word will do. These are all our gods—men and animals; and the first gods we have to worship are our countrymen. These we have to *worship*, instead of being jealous of each other and fighting each other. It is the most terrible *karma* for which we are suffering, and yet it does not open our eyes!

Here was given a clarion call for profound inner transformation, a spiritual growth through love and service of man, the first step on the long road of human evolution, the whole of which was termed *yoga* by Śrī Kṛṣṇa in the *Gītā*. This is evolution rising from the organic level of the pre-human stages to the psycho-social level of the human stage, according to twentieth century biology. This is the *yoga* that will turn out free, responsible, and responsive human beings out of our people, some of whom will choose for their laboratory of human evolution an administrative job for the free Indian state, accepting India and her intractable human problems as a vast and challenging anthropological laboratory! This is Śrī Kṛṣṇa's and Swami Vivekananda's challenge and blessing to our administrators at all levels.

19. *Tasmāt Yogī Bhavārjuna !*

So, if anyone asks any member of our administration: 'What is your philosophy?' or 'What are you?' he or she can unhesitatingly and proudly point out Śrī Kṛṣṇa's above exhortation: 'Therefore be a *yogī*', and reply: 'I seek to be a *yogī* so defined'. By thus seeking and claiming to be a *yogī*, your externals do not change; you are the same individual doing a job and drawing a salary or wage, but your inner being stands transformed with a fullness, and that fullness of being will be poured out

into the functions you perform for the state and the society, by which they become endowed with efficiency and a human touch. This is the root and fruit of the *budhi-yoga* of the *Gītā*.

This is not any modern far-fetched interpretation of the *yoga* of the *Gītā*, but one given in the light of the interpretation by India's greatest philosopher Śaṅkarācārya of the eighth century A.D. He was the first to bring this great book out of obscurity and from the bosom of the immense epic of the *Mahābhārata* and place it before the people through his great commentary. After expounding his original, comprehensive, and practical philosophy of life in the second and third chapters of the *Gītā*, and designating it as *yoga*, Śrī Kṛṣṇa begins the fourth chapter with a clear statement of the supreme relevance, of this philosophy to all men and women bearing public responsibilities. Commenting on the first three verses of chapter four, Śaṅkarācārya says:

Imam adhyāya-dvayena uktam yogam, vivasvate, ādityāya, sargādaṁ proktavān aham—jagat-paripālayitṛṇām kṣatriyāṇām balādhānāya. . . . Sa ca vivasvān manave prāha, manuḥ ikṣvā-kave, svaputrāya ādirājāya, abravīt. . . . Evaṁ kṣatriya-paramparā prāptam imam, rājarṣayo, rājānaś-ca-te ṛṣayaś-ca, rājarṣayo, viduḥ, imam yogam. Sa yogaḥ kālēneha mahatā, dīrghēṇa, naṣṭo, vicchinna-sampradāyaḥ, samvṛtto, he parantapa. Durbalān ajitendriyān prāpya naṣṭam yogam imam upalabhya, lokam ca apuruṣārtha-sambandhinam, . . . sa eva ayam mayā te, tubhyam, adya idānīm yoghaḥ proktaḥ purātanaḥ, bhakto'si me sakhā ca asi iti—

This *yoga*, taught by me in the two (previous) chapters, I taught it to Vivasvān at the beginning of creation, in order to infuse strength in the *kṣatriyas*, or the rulers and administrators, who are to protect the world. That Vivasvān, again taught it to Manu, and Manu (in turn) taught it to his son Ikṣvāku, the first king...

This *yoga*, coming down thus through a (teacher-student) succession of *kṣatriyas*, was known to *rājarṣis*—those who combine the role of *rāja* (king) and *ṛṣi* (sage) in one (people who achieve their spiritual growth in the context of their responsibilities of ruling and administering).

Seeing that *yoga* thus lost through falling into the hands of men and women bereft of mental and physical strength, and bereft also of discipline and control of the sense organs and mind, and seeing humanity at large unable to achieve life fulfilment, I have taught you now that same ancient *yoga*, since you are my devotee and friend.

20. *The Pre-eminence of Yoga-bala*

We need this *yoga-bala* (energy of *yoga*) in our politics and administration at all levels. Note this word used by the great Śaṅkarācārya—*yaga-bala*. Vedānta identifies three types of *balas*; *bāhu-bala*—strength of hand, or muscle power, including horse-power or machine power; *mano-bala*—strength of mind or intellect; and *yoga-bala*—energy of spirituality. We need all these three sources of energy to meet the challenges of the modern age; but the third one is the most significant, because it is the source of that character-energy and dedication-energy that alone can transform the other two energies, and their technical products, to human purposes. Our country silently whispers to all our people today to become a *yogi*, to acquire this *yoga-bala*, and become the effective instruments of national and human purposes, instead of remaining satisfied with the other two energies and becoming a stagnant pool of self-centredness, corruption, and spiritual emptiness.

It tells our Rashtrapati or President: be a *yogi*; it tells our Prime Minister: be a *yogi*; it tells our administrator and industrial executive: be a *yogi*; it tells our clerical staff: be a *yogi*; it tells the members of various professions: be a *yogi*; it tells every one of our farmers, artisans, and industrial workers: be a *yogi*; it tells every member of our defence services and police services personnel: be a *yogi*; it tells every one of our students and teachers: be a *yogi*; and it tells every one of our housewives: be a *yogi*!

For it proclaims, through its profound Vedānta philosophy, that this *yoga-bala*, this energy of spirituality, is the inborn birthright of every man and woman and child. This is a universal message meant for humanity everywhere, so that every man or woman may grow beyond his or her tiny and flimsy organic limitations and expand in love and sympathy and

compassion into what he or she truly is—the infinite *Ātman*. This is the supreme truth about man that the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* proclaims again and again in its sixth chapter. In his thoughtful book *Gītā in the Light of Modern Science* (p. 25), Sri R.B. Lal quotes the following concluding words from a lecture on *Unity and Diversity of Life* by the great biologist, the late J.B.S. Haldane:

On the walls of the large room in the zoological laboratory at Munster, where Professor Rensch keeps his living animals, are written the words *Tat tvam asi* [That (infinite and pure *Ātma*) thou art]. If I have helped any of you to understand some of the implications of the great saying, my lectures have not been in vain.

The *Gītā* definition of *yoga* as efficiency in action, dexterity in action, has a profound message to our people today. It is a double efficiency; on the one hand, the worker works efficiently for the good of society outwardly, and on the other hand, he or she also advances in spiritual efficiency inwardly in that very work context. Based on this firm practical ground, it builds up its profound philosophy of man in the succeeding chapters.

We failed to grasp, in the past ages, this wide reference of the *Gītā* to life as a whole. One of the beautiful *Gītā-dhyāna* verses compares the *Gītā* to 'the nectar of milk, drawn by the cowherd Śrī Kṛṣṇa from the cow the Upaniṣads, with Arjuna as the calf, and meant to be drunk by the good people of the world (for their spiritual nourishment)'. But what did we actually do with that milk? We did everything else with it except drink it and get nourished by it! We took the *Gītā* to be only as a book of religion, of piety, narrowly conceived as outside man's work-and-life situation; we revered it; worshipped it; and even memorized it. But we failed to assimilate its teaching and implement it in life. In the words of Śrī Rama-krishna: Some have heard of milk; some have seen it; some have touched it; and some have drunk it. The last alone have profited from the milk.

21. *Combining 'Philanthropic Efficiency with Philosophic Calm'*

This modern period of our history offers us the best opportunity to drink this unique 'milk' of the *Gītā* and get nourished by it and become strong—physically, intellectually, and spiritually, and work out the salvation of India, and also contribute India's share to working out of the welfare of the rest of the world. These are the possibilities contained in the *yoga* as taught in this great book; it is the reservoir of what Herbert Spencer, in his *Study of Sociology* (p. 403, Eighth Edition) refers to as 'uniting philanthropic energy with philosophic calm'. This great book deserves to become the main textbook of the philosophy of our administration, by which alone our different departmental rules and manuals of administration become illumined and energized. Several thinkers in the modern age, of both East and West, have referred to this relevance of the *Gītā* for administration and statesmanship, to raise both to high ethical and humanistic levels. One such outstanding person was the late Dr. Hammarskjöld, Secretary General of the United Nations. In one of his speeches, he quoted verse forty-nine of chapter two of the *Gītā* and commended its sentiments to the statesman of the world as having the power to bring about peace and justice in the world:

Work (done with selfish desires) is, verily, far inferior, O Arjuna, to that performed (in the light of) *buddhi-yoga* (*yoga* of enlightened reason); seek refuge in this *buddhi*; small-minded are they who work with the motive of selfish results.

22. *The Problem of Small Minds*

Those who work only for petty profit and pleasure for oneself or one's genetic group, for more salary and allowances, more privileges and perquisites, and more this and more that and nothing else, and are not moved by a sense of public duty and responsibility, and sense of dedication and service, are termed *kṛpṇas*, very very small-minded people. *Kṛpṇa* means small-minded. In Hindi, the word is used to refer to stingy

Buddhi-yoga, on the contrary, indicates a large mind and heart.

The *krpaṇa* attitude is really the greatest bane of our country, in all its departments of activity. We put great work into the hands of small men, in place of putting each small work into the hands of great men. 'Great movements or causes and little minds will go together' is the profound English saying. When small men are entrusted with great work, they reduce that work to their own small dimensions; whereas, when great men are entrusted with even small work, they raise that work also to greatness. Too long have many of our people in politics and administration sought bigness by scrambling to get on to a big chair of authority and power; it is time that we strive to impart out intrinsic bigness to the chair of authority and power on which we sit. Ghandhiji spinning on the charkha and Saint Kabir weaving on the loom imparted greatness and bigness to the humble charkha and loom; whereas a greedy priest worshipping God in a temple brings down the status of the great act of worship itself. Let our people today strive to develop an intrinsic greatness in themselves, and pour that greatness of being into the functions they, as citizens, are called upon to perform in the service of society. This is a great idea and challenge to us—imparting our greatness to the work we do. Such work always excels, and such men and women always express the unique excellence of manliness and womanliness.

23. *The Tyranny of the Triple 'P's*

These are beautiful ideas arising from the philosophy of the *Gītā*. Instead of nurturing ourselves with these inspiring ideas and striving hard to bring light and life to the millions of our people sunk in poverty, ignorance, and exploitation, many in our administration allowed themselves to become reduced, in these momentous post-freedom years, to 'clods of ailments and grievances ever complaining that the world (and the government) does not devote itself to making them happy,' to quote the pungent words of Bernard Shaw.

What do our officers and clerks generally discuss when they meet together in tea clubs, in secretariat rooms, or else-

pay, prospect, and promotion! Nothing about the country and the mountainous problems of their own people and what their role is in solving them! This is the normal pattern all over India and in all its diverse offices.

If there are exceptions, it is because these few have been touched by the inspiration of this higher national vision and ideology. And the small minority of the inspired keeps the nation going. The nation needs the services of more and more of such people to solve its pressing human problems. We have to generate that human motivation energy resources, in order to bring out the maximum benefits from the money energy resources provided in our five-year plans.

24. *Kālidāsa's Concept of a Welfare State*

Money is dead, until man imparts life to it. Men with energy and vision bring more and more out of a given amount of money than men without it. That is the only way to achieve a welfare society; *a high level of social welfare in a community of men reflects a high level of ethical awareness, human concern, and practical efficiency among its members.* The ratio of administrative work and character-efficiency to social welfare is well revealed in Kālidāsa's verse, in his *Raghuvamśam* describing briefly the welfare state achieved by the kings of the Raghu dynasty, to which belonged Śrī Rāma:

*Prajānām eva bhūtyartham
sa tābhyo balim agrahīt;
Sahasraguṇam utsraṣṭum
ādatte hi rasam raviḥ—*

It was only for the prosperity and welfare of the people that he (the king) took taxes from them, just like the sun drawing moisture (from the earth) to give it back in thousandfold measure (as beneficial rain).

In any developmental and welfare administration, that is the only right attitude. The administration takes money from the people as taxes only to restore it back in hundredfold and in

is the administration able to perform this miracle? Because the men who handle that money have that *yoga-bala*, energy of *yoga*, within them; they have imaginative sympathy; they have efficiency; they have dedication; they are always conscious that they are basically citizens of free India, who are called upon to perform a tremendous national function and mission. That attitude achieves a revolutionary miracle within them; they become *dynamic persons* instead of remaining *static individuals*.

We have, unfortunately, too many of such static individuals among us, not only in the administration, but also outside. We have such among official and non-official delegations going abroad to perform national missions or attend international conferences; and the complaint is often heard that many of their members, including Members of Parliament, are more busy with what you call shopping than work for the nation. What motive have such people to care for India? Contrast this with the conduct of those few among such, who are under the influence of the philosophy of administration discussed earlier, and who place their duty first and put the interest of the nation first, and everything else afterwards.

25. *Diverse Types of Philosophy of Administration*

The philosophy of administration will vary according to the philosophy of man, of society, and of the state upheld by a people. It will be one type in an exclusively materialistic context, and quite different in the context of a group of people who believe in the existence and primacy of spiritual values. It will be one type in a feudal setting, another in a totalitarian *milieu*, and far different in a democratic state and administration. The philosophy of democratic state and administration derives in strength and relevance from the inalienable dignity and worth of the human personality and the active concern to uphold and foster the same. Its operative principle is that man is essentially educable and not vile, and that social change is, and can be, brought about in an orderly and peaceful way—by 'breaking of wits' and not by 'breaking of heads'.

It is an insight into such a philosophy of man, society, and

lamp, illumines our way in the world of life and work and fulfilment. A single individual needs only a small lamp to light his way; but a large congregation of men need a more powerful light to light its way. Similarly, an ordinary philosophy is enough to illumine the work-and-life path of a private citizen. But a more-than-ordinary philosophy is necessary to light the path of life-and-work of a man of social responsibility. Vedānta provides the vision and range and scope of such a more-than-ordinary philosophy in the *buddhi-yoga* of the *Gītā*. Śaṅkarācārya brings out this scope and range in his masterly introduction to his commentary on the *Gītā*.

The Vedānta is (an integrated philosophy of) a twofold *dharma*, namely, *pravṛtti* (or outward directed action) and *nivṛtti* (or inward directed meditation) which (together) form the means for the maintenance of the world (on its even keel); for they are, verily, the means of the true *abhyudaya* (socio-economic welfare) and *niḥśreyasa* (for spiritual growth and liberation) of all beings.

26. Significance of the *Gītā* term 'Rajarsi' for all Democratic Administration

With respect to this philosophy of administration, the term *rājarsi* used by Śrī Kṛṣṇa in the fourth chapter of the *Gītā*, and referred to earlier, acquires special significance. To many among the Hindus, this term *rājarsi* evokes all sorts of fantastic or distorted meanings—exclusive, uncanny, misty, and magical. When all such distortions are removed from our minds, we shall discover its protean significance for human life and destiny.

Śaṅkarācārya defines the two-word term as referring to a person who is at once both *rāja*, king, and *ṛṣi*, sage. What does that signify? We have no *rājas*, kings or sovereigns in the sense of crowned heads, today, in our republican state. But while abolishing the sovereign, a republican state has not abolished sovereignty, but has only taken it from a special individual and scattered it among the millions of its democratic citizens, who are sovereign and free. In its basic sense, *rāja* refer to a person who shines, who is eminent, in responsibility—*rājate* means shines, is eminent. The light in him is not under

a bushel, but on a candle-stand, as remarked by Jesus, so that it throws light allround.

In a general sense, even a father and a mother at home and a teacher at school, in fact, all citizens, are *rājas*. In a special sense, all holders of public power of responsibility, like the industrial magnate, the administrator, the minister, the executive, are such *rājas*; for on them depend the happiness and welfare of thousands. How do they handle their power and responsibility? What light, what philosophy, guides them? This is the most vital question that forms the core of the *Gītā* philosophy of administration, and that brings into focus the significance of the second component of the terms, namely, *ṛṣi*, i.e., sage.

If they are guided by the lamp of the ordinary philosophy by which the ordinary genetically conditioned and limited individual lights his path, they may, more likely, and more often, use their power and position to aggrandize themselves at the cost of society. This may express the cleverness of a fox, but not the *heroism of manliness*, which is the true trait of a *rāja* or sovereign. For the latter, we need to resort to a more-than-ordinary light shed by a more-than-ordinary philosophy, which alone can create the energy of character-efficiency and dedication, and which reveals the *heroism of saintliness*, understood in its plainest and widest sense. This is what *buddhi-yoga* contributes to the evolution of a *ṛṣi* out of a *rāja*, *what unites the heroism of saintliness to the heroism of manliness*.

This combination of a *rāja* and a *ṛṣi* in an administrator, this synthesis of manliness and saintliness, is what is desired by the *Gītā* for all people generally, and for politicians and administrators particularly. When one combines power with social responsibility, and both with the energy arising from character, clear thinking, dedication, and practical efficiency, one effects in oneself, in varying degrees, this unique synthesis of the *rājaṛṣi* of the *Gītā*. This answers to Herbert Spencer's sociological demand, referred to earlier, for the combination of philanthropic energy with philosophic calm.

All government involves power and authority centred in a few people. Democracy strives to ensure that such power and authority of a few do not stifle the freedom and dignity of the

sovereign citizen, of the many. President Kaunda of Zambia contrasts power *with* the people with power *over* the people; the first in *persuasion*, the second is *compulsion*: the first is the way of democracy, the second is the way of all authoritarian regimes. He speaks of a humanistic democracy in which the citizens are 'easy to enslave'. This is the product of politics and administration getting suffused with the above-mentioned synthesis of the *rāja* and the *ṛṣi*, of the heroism of manliness and the heroism of saintliness.

27. *The Challenge of the Testament of the Gītā to Modern India*

That the philosophy of administration as taught in the *Gītā*, combining the energy of vision with the energy of action, and imparting to man the double energy resource of character-efficiency and work-efficiency, the heroism of saintliness with the heroism of manliness, can lead a people, any people, to allround greatness, is the grand testament affirmed by the *Gītā* itself in its luminous last verse. Our national politics and administration can do nothing more inspiring and momentous today, as much internationally as nationally, than begin to check and verify that great testament in the vast modern anthropological development laboratory of our ancient country, and transform its *dubious* distinction of being the largest democracy into the *luminous* one of being the greatest democracy:

Yatra yogeśvaraḥ Kṛṣṇa
yatra Pārtho dhanur-dharaḥ;
Tatra śrīḥ, vijayo, bhutiḥ.
dhruvā nītiḥ matir mama—

Wherever (there is the spirit) of Kṛṣṇa, the master of *yoga* (the master of vision), (and) wherever (there is the spirit of) Arjuna, the wielder of the bow (the hero of action), there, I am convinced, wealth, victory, welfare, and unshakable justice (shall prevail).

We are now experimenting on human welfare, human development, in our country. We had never done it before on the

philosophy and ideas: but the implementation was arrested in later centuries. Therefore, the stress today should be on practical implementation, faster and still faster, and watching a new India, healthy and strong, rising on the horizon. This should be the great watchword of all administration in the Centre and the States, down to the *zilla parishad* and *gram panchayat* institutions, in our country.

This philosophy combines true politics, which is search for power, with a view to service, and true religion, in one. This philosophy puts character development through service and dedication as the first stage of all true religion. There are higher stages, but these cannot come without fulfilling the lower stages. But that was, and still is, the misfortune with us in India, that we want to get to the highest without fulfilling the lower steps. In the name of religion, our people sought sainthood before achieving manhood first. So, we got cheap and sham sainthood and missed manhood in the bargain. True and genuine saintliness is built only on manliness. This truth, arising from the *Gītā* philosophy of *yoga*, was stressed once again by Swami Vivekananda in our times. So he placed before the nation the first programme of achieving the heroism of manliness. He spoke of man-making education and man-making religion.

28. *Vivekananda's Works: A Literature of Strength*

Swami Vivekananda's speeches and writings provide us with a literature of strength; many of our national leaders and patriots have experienced this, and given expression to it. Romain Rolland's attention was first drawn to Vivekananda by the remark of Rabindranath Tagore to him.

If you want to understand India, study Vivekananda. In him, everything is positive and nothing negative.

And the result was the luminous and critical biographies of both Ramakrishna and Vivekananda by Rolland: *Life of Ramakrishna* and *Life of Vivekananda and the Universal Gospel*. In the former, in its very preface, 'he describes the two as' the 'splendid symphony of the universal Soul'. In the latter, he

describes Vivekananda's *Complete Works* in ecstatic words (p. 162).

Vivekananda's words are great music, phrases in the style of Beethoven, stirring rhythms like the march of Handel choruses. I cannot touch these sayings of his, scattered as they are through the pages of books at thirty years' distance, without receiving a thrill through my body like an electric shock. And what shocks, what transports, must have been produced when, in burning words, they issued from the lips of the hero!

29. Conclusion

I often feel that our nation needs such a shock to shake it out of its complacencies; and it has that shock easily available to it in the eight published volumes of *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, in their hundreds of live-wire passages, such as the following with which I conclude my lecture and take leave of you (*Complete Works*, Vol. III, p. 193):

Arise, Awake! Awake from this hypnotism of weakness. *None* is really weak; the soul is infinite, omnipotent, and omniscient. Stand up, assert yourself, proclaim the God within you Teach yourselves, teach everyone, his real nature. Call upon the sleeping soul and see how it awakes. Power will come, glory will come, goodness will come, purity will come, and everything that is excellent will come, when this sleeping soul is roused to self-conscious activity.

THE SCIENCE OF HUMAN ENERGY RESOURCES

1. Introductory

ADMINISTRATION and politics have become so important day that we can either destroy our India or create a strong, beautiful India through our politics and our administration. The choice is before us. Shall we build up a healthy body-politic, or shall we fill it with all toxic substances which will ultimately destroy the socio-political organism itself? Far from being academic, this question is very much relevant today when the hopes and aspirations, which we had cherished during our 'tryst with destiny' at the midnight hour of the birth of political independence on 15th August, 1947, are getting eroded. It is for all our citizens to consider the situation calmly and dispassionately, and apply the correct remedies with consistent energy and vigour.

It is against this background that I have chosen a very special subject for this evening's exposition. Sometimes, a subject may be puzzling to many intending listeners. I remember when I spoke at the Medical College, Trivandrum, some years ago, I gave the subject: *Man's Spiritual Life in the Light of Twentieth Century Scientific Thought*. Both the principal, and also another person, who introduced me initially, remarked: 'We do not know what Swamiji is going to speak to us this evening on this subject; the subject is so intriguing'. Yet, that subject was then, and also is now, a most vital theme, as scientific thought today is giving man so many hints and suggestions about his inner life in order to enrich it *qualitatively* and not merely *quantitatively*. Equally important, and closely allied to it, is this evening's theme: *The Science of Human Energy Resources*.

Based on the tape-recorded version of an extempore speech delivered at the Indian Institute of Public Administration, Maharashtra Regional Branch, Mantralaya, Bombay, on 6th February, 1979.

2. *Energy Crisis: External versus Internal*

The topic that is now discussed most all over the world is *energy crisis*, relating to the fast depletion of the non-renewable energy resources of nature. Every day you read in the newspapers and magazines about the impending energy crisis; many scientific seminars are held all over the world on how to solve this crisis. It is a crisis affecting man through his external environment; and solar energy is considered as the only possible final solution, if it is at all practicable. In the context of this current external energy crisis, a thought naturally occurs: Why is it that man is not proving equal to his challenges today? Why is it that, after constructing such a rich society through his efficient science and technology, man still finds himself broken, battered, bruised in that very society? Why is he feeling unfulfilled within, though all around him everything is propitious? *Is there another energy crisis within man himself* which may be partly responsible, through his wrong philosophy of life, even for that very external crisis? Does he or does he not have, within him, energy that can give him a grip on his life, and a direction to his movements in the outer world, instead of simply being whirled about by the energies released by modern technological discoveries? Can he not order his own life in a masterly way, instead of being ordered about like any other *creature*? Has he not the organic capacity to achieve peace and fulfilment, individual and collective?

3. *Movement versus Direction*

These are questions that have ceased to be merely academic. They are the questions affecting man's very survival. Modern man is continuously involved in movement, but the direction is missing all the time. As one scientist has said: man discovered long ago the method of giving direction to his shipping by looking at the stars; later on, he discovered the compass needle. And still later, the discoveries of energy resources such as steam, electricity, and nuclear power helped in driving his ship faster and faster. All these later discoveries of faster and faster *movement* are nothing compared to the earlier discovery of the fixed stars and the compass needle, and the recent still more sophisticated instruments, for giving guidance to

sea-going vessels and air-flying vehicles, regarding the *direction* in which they have to go.

4. *Adhyātma-Vidyā: The Science of Man in Depth*

Today's human condition is such that we have energy of movement, but we are lacking in direction; and it is here that we need a new science, a new technique, of direction-finding. Physics is very highly developed today; so also are the other sciences of physical nature, like astronomy and chemistry and biology. *But the science of man has not developed satisfactorily.* Many modern scientists feel that, unless the science of man advances in step with the sciences of nature, man will become increasingly weakened, and the successes of his physical sciences will become his defeats. Our country has, however, contributed immensely in this field of the science of man; I shall call it, more precisely, *the science of man in depth*, to distinguish it from modern subjects like physiology, anatomy, and behaviouristic and Freudian psychologies which also are sciences of man, but which do not touch the essential and luminous truth of man in his depths.

I wish that our country today devotes a little time to understand its own outstanding and unique contribution to this science of man in depth, for which the precise Sanskrit word is *adhyātma-vidyā*. Throughout the world today, in all thinking circles, there is great interest in this subject. Referring to the insufficiencies of modern scientific thought, and knocking at the door of India's *adhyātma-vidyā* in the process, Lincoln Barnett says in his book: *The Universe and Dr. Einstein* (Mentor edition, pp. 126-27):

In the evolution of scientific thought, one fact has become impressively clear; there is no mystery of the physical world which does not point to a mystery beyond itself. All high roads of the intellect, all byways of theory and conjecture lead ultimately to an abyss that human ingenuity can never span. For, man is enchained by the very condition of his being, his finiteness and involvement in nature. The farther he extends his horizons, the more vividly he recognizes the fact that, as physicist Niels Bohr puts it, 'we are both

...spectators and actors in the great drama of existence'. *Man is thus his own greatest mystery. He does not understand the vast veiled universe into which he has been cast for the reason that he does not understand himself.* He comprehends but little of his organic processes, and even less of his unique capacity to perceive the world about him, to reason and to dream. *Least of all does he understand his noblest and most mysterious faculty: the ability to transcend himself and perceive himself in the act of perception* (Italics not by the author).

5. *Adhyātma-Vidyā: Its Pre-eminence in the Indian Tradition*

Our writers in ancient India gave the highest place of honour to this science of man in depth. Physics, chemistry, botany, zoology, and astronomy—all these *vidyās* or sciences were highly respected and cultivated in ancient India; but pre-eminent position among all sciences was given to this science of man in depth. In the *Bhagavad Gītā*, enumerating his glories in the manifested universe as its one in-dwelling and out-spreading Divine Reality, Śrī Kṛṣṇa, the Divine Incarnation, affirms this pre-eminent position when he says (X.32): *adhyātma vidyā vidyā-nām*—among the *vidyās* or sciences, I am *adhyātma-vidyā*. If one is a physicist, his or her knowledge of physics will help him or her only so long as he or she is in the laboratory. But when he or she goes home, and has to deal with the family members or with colleagues in the office or fellow-citizens in society, that science has no meaning for him or her at all. Such is the situation with respect to all our sciences of physical nature. If a husband deals with his wife in terms of his physics or any of the other physical sciences, he will make a mess of his marriage; the same with respect to the wife in relation to her husband. If a leader deals with the people in terms of these physical sciences, he will make a mess of the society around him; all this is so because of the highly limited scope of their application, and the more significant non-physical dimensions of the human personality. But when he or she knows man in depth as expounded in the *adhyātma-vidyā*, he or she will be wonderfully successful in dealing with oneself and equally so when dealing with others. That is why Śrī Kṛṣṇa, and most of the scientific

and philosophical and sociological thinkers of India, gave *adhyātma-vidyā* the pre-eminent status among the sciences to be mastered by man.

6. *The Science of Human Possibilities*

Today, India is working hard to master the physical sciences; our people had neglected them for centuries; and most of the human problems in India today have arisen from this long neglect. But in correcting the mistake of that neglect, we are also committing another mistake, namely, neglecting our *adhyātma-vidyā*, which we have specially cultivated for ages, and which is our best international contribution to general human development and fulfilment. The late Sir Julian Huxley, eminent biologist and humanist, referred to the need for modern man to develop a new science, along with the various physical sciences which have already been developed. He gave it a beautiful title: *the science of human possibilities*. In his lecture on 'The Evolutionary Vision' delivered at the closing session of the 1959 Chicago University symposium on *Evolution After Darwin*, held to commemorate the centenary of the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species*, he gave a *spiritual orientation* to the evolutionary process (*Evolution After Darwin*, Vol. III, pp. 251-52):

Man's evolution is not biological but psycho-social; it operates by the mechanism of cultural tradition, which involves the cumulative self-reproduction and self-variation of mental activities and their products. Accordingly, major steps in the human phase of evolution are achieved by breakthroughs to new dominant patterns of mental organization of knowledge, ideas, and beliefs—ideological instead of physiological or biological organisation. . . . All dominant thought organizations are concerned with the ultimate, as well as with the immediate, problems of existence or, as I should rather say, with the most ultimate problems that the thought of the time is capable of formulating or even envisaging. They are all concerned with giving some interpretation of man, of the world which he is to live in, and of his place and role in that world—in other words, some common vision of the future.

Revealing the twentieth century understanding of the trend of humnn evolution towards *qualitative enrichment*, in the place of *quantitative* of the pre-human phase, he further says (*ibid.*, pp. 261-62):

It (evolutionary vision) shows us mind enthroned above matter quantity subordinate to quality.

In his essay of *Emergence of Darwinism*, he sums up the goal of the evolutionary process at the human level as fulfilment (*ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 20):

In the light of our present knowledge, man's most comprehensive aim is seen not as mere survival, not as numerical increase, not as increased complexity of organization or increased control over his environment, but as greater fulfilment—the fuller realization of more possibilities by the human species collectively and more of its component members individually.

And towards this end, he pleads for the development of a *new science of human possibilities* (*ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 21):

Once greater fulfilment is recognized as man's ultimate or dominant aim, we shall need a science of human possibilities to help guide the long course of psycho-social evolution that lies ahead.

What India developed, ages ago, in her *Upaniṣads* and the *Gītā* as *adhyātma-vidyā*, was indeed in response to this need for a science of human possibilities. A new-born baby, hardly seven pounds in weight, is so tender an organism that a little extra heat or cold can destroy it. Yet, look at the sparkling eyes of that little baby! You suspect the presence of a depth behind those eyes, unlike those of a statue, and of enormous energies lying dormant somewhere within its depths; and your whole effort with regard to the education of that baby will be to make it unfold all those energies. In that process, one day, he or she will become a great scientist, a great olympic runner, a great

that little baby.

7. 'Tat Tvam Asi'. Its Profound Significance

In the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (VI. viii. 7), there is a brief utterance which many of us may have heard of, though few of us may have really grasped its profound significance. That utterance is *Tat Tvam Asi*—'That Thou Art'. We were under the impression that that utterance was meant for sages and saints in the Himalayan retreats like Uttarakāśi; and an administrator or the general citizen, the industrial worker or the housewife, has nothing to do with it. I am happy to tell you today that that impression of ours is wrong and that that truth is meant for all, as Swami Vivekananda has taught us in the modern period.

It is inspiring for us to find that several practical and clear-thinking modern Western scientists also, when they come in touch with this profound science of man in depth as developed in our ancient Upaniṣads, and come in touch also with such utterances, grasp their profound significance and place before us their truth-relevance for modern man. The late J. B. S. Haldane, the distinguished British micro-biologist, though an agnostic and far away from established religions, felt something wonderful in our India. He knew well all about our poverty, our backwardness, our million problems, and yet he left his own highly developed home country after the World War II, came to India and settled down in Bhubaneshwar, and established his research laboratory there and, later, also died there. In the course of his lectures on the *Unity and Diversity of Life*, he tells us with much passion (quoted in *The Gītā in the Light of Modern Science* by R. B. Lal, pp. 24-25):

I think that only two of discoveries of this century in physics are of profound philosophical importance. One is Einstein's discovery that time and space are aspects of the same kind of relationship. The other is that the distinction between two particles of the same kind is not absolute. We have not yet got the words to formulate this principle adequately. But it helps me to believe that the distinction between you and me, or the nearest mosquito and me, is nothing absolute either. . .

Any one who has the concrete and detailed notion of the unity of life, at which I have arrived after studying biology for sixty years, will at least have some respect for all life, including plant life. . .

On the walls of the large room in the zoological laboratory at Munster, where Professor Rensch keeps his living animals, are written the words: *Tat Tvam Asi*. If I have helped any of you to understand some of the implications of this great saying, my lectures have not been in vain.

8. *Vedāntic Vision of Cit-Śakti behind Man and Nature*

Enormous energies, says Vedānta, are dormant in every one of us, in every living and non-living entity in the world, like the infinite quantum energy field behind all short-lived quantum particles and behind all the more stable molecular structures of the physical universe, as taught by modern physics. Some of the best hymns in our religious books are centred in this inspiring truth. Conceiving the ultimate reality within the universe and man as Infinite Energy or Pure Consciousness, *Cit-Śakti*, and designating it as *Parā-Prakṛti*, Supreme Nature, as *Ādyā-Śakti*, Primordial Energy, and as *Devī*, the Divine Mother, the *Devī-Māhātmyam* sings Her hymn of praise in a series of verses like the following (V. 20):

*Yā devī sarvabhūteṣu
śakti rūpeṇa samsthitā;
Namaḥ tasyai, namaḥ tasyai
Namaḥ tasyai namo namaḥ—*

That Divine Mother who is present in all beings as *śakti*, as power or energy, I salute Her, I salute Her, I salute Her, again and again.

What is the nature of this *Śakti*? In the external world, we have wind power, sea-wave power, thermal and hydel power, nuclear power, muscle power, bull power, horse power, and so on. Similarly, within every human being, there are so many different types and levels of power. *No physical science or other secular*

studied this impressive spectrum of powers within man so thoroughly and luminously as our ancient Upaniṣads and the Gītā. Today, in India, and in all other developing countries, man is trying to develop his external physical energy resources through geological and technological efforts. But let us not forget that, unless we strengthen man *pari passu* with the strengthening and enriching of his natural environment, it is man that is going to suffer. Many people today appreciate and accept this idea, but do not really know what is meant by all this idea of the strengthening of man.

9. *Limitations of Energy Physical and Energy Mental*

We know only of two types of human energies; one is muscular energy, the other is mental energy. Modern science and Western culture have developed these two remarkably well in the modern period. But is that all? Today we find in spite of physical strength, in spite of intellectual strength, man is feeling himself unfulfilled, and, the more advanced a nation, the more problems it has so far as the inner life of man is concerned. We read of crime explosions, drug explosions, alcoholic drink explosions, sex explosions, and psychic breakdowns. Humanity needs some new strength, some new energy resource, to be able to withstand and overcome these explosive pressures, beyond the merely physical or intellectual. But is there such a hidden source of strength in man? And is there a science dealing with it and a technique to avail of it? These are the questions that are asked every day by the people, and by the students and teachers in the universities, of countries like Western Europe, America, Australia, and Soviet Russia. Our people also have begun now to ask these very questions, after experiencing the initial shocks of the modern industrial age.

Is there any energy resource within the human organism which, if brought out, can make one a strong, steady, peaceful, and fully integrated human being? Can we produce such a human being merely by manipulating his economic and socio-political environments or by enactments of parliaments? Today, we read and hear about, and also see around us, in our own country as well as in other countries, the tragic results of

men and women *falling down* from high places on account of political bribery and social corruption and all sorts of social malpractices. Is there any science which can successfully deal with this problem and give man the strength of will and purpose to stand steady, in spite of forces trying to pull him down? Yes, says our hoary and living heritage of *adhyātma-vīdyā*. Even a little investigation into this subject will be a tremendous source of character-strength and hope for our nation today. As assured by Śrī Kṛṣṇa in the *Gītā* (II.40): *Svalpamapyasya dharmasya trāyate mahato bhayāt*—‘Even a little of this *dharma* (science and technique) will save man from much fear.’ I shall deal with this theme only briefly this evening, as it is a very vast and profound subject. I have, however, tried to deal with it as scientifically as possible, and in greater detail, in my book: *The Message of the Upaniṣads*, especially in its pages dealing with the third chapter of the *Kaṭhā Upaniṣad*.

10. *Human Energy: Gross versus Subtle Types*

The first form of energy that becomes manifest in a human being is his or her muscular energy. The new born baby throws up its hands and legs, trying to manifest and develop this energy. We may call it the muscle power, which slowly develops in the child by constant exercise of its limbs and through nourishment provided by food. But this muscle power is a very *sthūla*, or gross, form of energy. Behind the muscle, there is a tiny nerve fibre. Cut out that nerve fibre, and the muscle, however strong and developed as in an athlete, becomes dead, its energy is gone. Thus, at the very outset of our investigation, we realise that, behind the gross muscle power of man, there is a *subtle*, but more significant, energy system located in the nervous system of man. Investigating further, we find that, behind the nervous system of ours, there is the more subtle psychic energy system, sustaining and controlling that nervous system. If that psychic system is damaged or weakened, the muscle and the nerve will become powerless to function. Thus we see that, as we go deeper and deeper into man, we come across subtler and subtler forms of energy within him. Further, we also note that as we progress from the gross to the subtle, we also find that the human energy

resources grow also in quantity and quality, in immensity and range. Our ancient sages of the Upaniṣads successfully tried to penetrate man in depth with their highly trained and pure minds.

11. *The Self of Man: The Focus of Infinite Energy*

And what did they find? Behind the body, behind the nervous system, and behind even the psychic energy system, they discovered the infinite nature of man, the focus of a unique and immense energy resource in him, which they identified as the true self of man, the Ātman. It is this discovery that is epitomized in that short *mantra* referred to earlier: *Tat Tvam Asi*, 'That Thou Art'. The sentence in which this pithy formula for human energy resource occurs, parallel to the modern Einsteinian formula of $E=mc^2$ for all physical energy systems, forms the fervent exhortation of the father-teacher Āruṇi to his son-disciple Śvetaketu. Concluding his first exposition of the Upaniṣadic search for, and discovery of, a unified *spiritual energy-field* in the infinite pure Consciousness of Brahman or Ātman behind the universe and man, sage Āruṇi says (*Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, VI. 8.7):

*Sa ya eṣo aṇimā, aitat ātmyam idaṁ sarvaṁ;
Tat satyam, sa ātmā, tat tvam asi, Śvetaketo—*

This, that which is extremely subtle, all this manifested universe has that as its Self, that is the Truth, He is the Ātman or the Self, and That Thou Art, O Śvetaketu.

The Upaniṣad says to all humanity through Śvetaketu: You are that Ātman, infinite, immortal, and ever pure; that is your true nature; you are not this organic system; you are not this tiny flimsy individual that you suppose yourself to be. There is an infinite dimension behind your finite organic individuality. Try to understand it; try to manifest it in yourself and help others to manifest it. That is the science of human growth, development, and fulfilment.

In his address on *The Mission of the Vedānta* delivered

Vivekananda uttered this stirring Vedāntic truth (*The Complete Works*, Vol. III, p. 193):

Arise, Awake! Awake from this hypnotism of weakness. *None* is really weak; the soul is infinite, omnipotent, and omniscient

Teach yourselves, teach every one, his real nature; call upon the sleeping soul and see how it awakes. Power will come, glory will come, goodness will come, purity will come, and everything that is excellent will come, when this sleeping soul is roused to self-conscious activity.

12. 'Learning to Be' versus 'Learning to Do'

We normally limit the concept of growth to the physical, in nature and man. We speak of economic growth, industrial growth, population growth, and so on, besides the physical and intellectual growth of the individual. But side by side with these, and more significant than either, there is also the *spiritual growth of man*. A few years ago, the UNESCO had established a commission of enquiry about education of man in the post-war era; it was presided over by the then French Education Minister, later, Prime Minister, Edward Faivre. The commission issued a report, and I was very much struck by the unique title of that report, namely, *Learning to Be*. Indeed, so far as man is concerned, education should essentially be *learning to be*, and only secondarily *learning to do*. But never merely *learning to do*. When you stress learning to be, you have to go beyond the human muscular dimension, his neural dimension, and even beyond his merely intellectual dimension, says Vedānta. The UNESCO Report itself does not go so far, though its fine conclusions and suggestions cannot stand without that further penetration.

Modern physical sciences are well conversant with the two main dimensions of human growth, namely, the physical and the mental; and we in India are also trying to develop our people in these two directions. We want our children to grow physically, to develop into fine specimens of physical beauty and strength. We also want them to attain mental growth.

the capacity to alter their environment in terms of their all-round developmental requirements, and acquire a grip on that external environment. But are these the only dimensions of human growth? Can man ignore and neglect his inherent spiritual nature without paying a heavy price for it?

13. *Inner Insecurity in the Context of External Security*

All over the world today we find that in spite of physical well-being and high intellectual growth, man has become inwardly poor and unstable, and has become a problem to himself and a problem to others. The great German philosopher of the last century, Schopenhauer, predicted this predicament of modern man, a predicament which has become most true in the post-war period and which poses a mocking question-mark to space-age humanity (*The World as Will and Idea*, Vol. I, p. 404):

All men who are secure from want and care, now that at last they have thrown off all other burdens, become a burden to themselves.

Our own Upaniṣads, in the light of their depth-study of human nature and destiny, made the same prediction, ages ago, about the unfulfilment of man due to his spiritual insufficiencies; and this has become literally true of man in this otherwise amazing modern space-age (*Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, VI.20):

*Yadā carmavat ākāśam
veṣṭayiṣyanti mānavāḥ;
Tadā devam avijñāya
duḥkhasyānto bhaviṣyati—*

Men may (through their technical skill) roll up all space like a piece of leather; still there will be no end of sorrow for them without realizing the luminous One (within).

14. *The Challenge of 'Tat Tvam Asi' to the Current Human Distortions*

This spiritual impoverishment distorts the human personality

within and, as a consequence, also the social situation without. We can study this distortion in our own country even during these few post-independence years. It is our *educated* people who fall prey to temptations, big or small, and who are creating immense problems for our nation. It is the products of our *costly* intellectual education, mis-called 'higher' education, that indulge in various forms of bribery, corruption, smuggling, social malpractices, and all high crime; besides, the corrupt practices by our teachers and mass copying by our students are also products of the same 'higher' education. In these, we get verification of the truth that men can be intellectual giants and moral pygmies at the same time. And that is what we are turning out increasingly from our education into our politics, our administration, and our professions, to an unhealthy degree. We have to reverse this trend. The ancient wisdom of India whispers to us today that, along with physical growth and intellectual growth, *we must also seek growth in a new dimension, namely, the spiritual dimension of man*. Beyond the merely physical and intellectual, there is the infinite and divine nature of man referred to in the *Tat Tvam Asi* formula. *When that dimension becomes even slightly manifest in character and conduct, a new energy resource of high quality and quantity becomes available to every human being.*

15. *The Science of Allround Human Growth*

Let me give you a simple example. A visitor reaches a hotel but forgets his purse in the taxi. One type of driver will quietly pocket it. Another will seek out the owner and restore the purse to him. Between these two actions, there is a world of difference so far as the *consciousness levels* and the *inner developments* of the two drivers are concerned. The man who pockets the purse has developed his intelligence to the point of mere cleverness; but the capacity for compassion is missing in him; and that is a spiritual and not an intellectual capacity. He is confined within his own tiny organic system, can respond only to its cravings, and his intellect has become a slave of that limited system. The other person has grown beyond his organic limitations, trained his mind to respond to the impulses of his higher spiritual dimension and to dig his affections into

the hearts of others, and developed the capacity to enter into, and be entered into by, others. It is this spiritual growth that expressed itself as compassion for the man who had lost his purse. All humanistic impulses, all capacity for ethical response, for love, for dedication, for service, and even the capacity for team-work, *are only the by-products of man's growth in the spiritual dimension.* Intellectual growth, by itself, does not help one to manifest these virtues and graces. We hear of even great scientists, with superlative intellects, destroying the chances of junior research workers coming up in their research fields or appropriating their research discoveries as their own; also of senior administrators passing on administrative lapses and failures to their loyal juniors, instead of helping and protecting them. *It is only spiritual growth that makes for fearlessness, character-strength, independence, human love and concern, and the inward qualitative richness of the individual and the health and strength and integrity of the nation.* And this spiritual growth is the birthright of every one, says Vedānta. This type of growth is not ensured in millions of our people today; consequently, many of our people, including educated people, present the picture of *arrested* human development; hence the plethora of our social maladies. Many of our parents stimulate their children to become clever and ambitious, but not patriotic and human. The great psychologist of Harvard University, late William McDougall, in his famous book: *Character and the Conduct of Life*, tells us that youth must have ambition but that ambition must be integrated with a certain ideal of character. If the chastening touch of that ideal is not present, that ambition will make that youth unscrupulous; for scruples stand in the way of ambition; and such ambitious youths, he warns, often turn out into rascals, when no humanistic impulse influences their conduct and behaviour. What we want is allround human growth.

The science of human growth must take into account the deeper dimension of the divine spark inherent in every being, the Ātman. The stirring of this spiritual dimension expresses itself in the emergence of a new creative and vast energy resource, out of which flow compassion, love, service, and dedication, and the strength to check the impulse to fatten oneself at the cost of others. That is an energy resource which the whole world needs

to lay in order to evolve a healthy and humanized social order. Why is there a steady increase of crime in society today? It is because the body has become strong, the intellect has become sharp, but the moral sense has not accompanied these two. Humanistic impulse and the moral sense are not things dictated by a text-book of religion, or by a religious pontiff, or by the political authority. *They proceed from man's spiritual growth as its by-product.*

Just as industrial production or agricultural production does not increase by just exhortations, but needs the teaching of the know-how of it, the science and technique of it, to the people, so also morality or ethics, says Vedānta, needs the imparting of the science and technique of it to all people. The concept of growth has an inherent attraction to the human mind. When this subject is, therefore, presented as a significant dimension of human growth, people will accept it and try to implement it; there will be no need to impose it on people, as there is found no need to impose science and technology on people; they take to it because it is the product of a search for truth and an impulse for the alleviation of human suffering and to improve their living conditions. In the words of Swami Vivekananda (*The Complete Works*, Vol. I, *Rāja Yoga*, pp. 171-72):

We hear 'Be Good,' and 'Be Good' and 'Be Good' taught all over the world. There is hardly a child, born in any country in the world, who has not been told, 'Do not steal', 'Do not tell a lie'; but nobody tells the child how he can help doing them. Talking will not help him. Why should he not become a thief? We do not teach him how not to steal; we simply tell him. 'Do not steal'. *Only when we teach him to control his mind do we really help him.* All actions, internal and external, occur when the mind joins itself to certain centres, called the organs. Willingly or unwillingly, it is drawn to join itself to the centres, and that is why people do foolish deeds, and feel miserable which, if the mind were under control, they would not do. What would be the result of controlling the mind? It then would not join itself to the centres of perception and, naturally, feeling and willing would be under control.

When I visited the United States two years ago, a lady told me: 'Swamiji, we have so many problems—mothers battering their own children, husbands battering their wives, etc. Now their number is increasing day by day. These problems have been highlighted by the *Newsweek* and other journals also. Do not these phenomena negate the current concept of development and progress?' We generally describe the progress of a nation in the modern age in terms of the per capita production and consumption of various forms of external energy resources, like electricity and nuclear power. But is that a sufficient criterion, the only criterion of human development? In spite of their tremendous external energy resources, men and women in the developed countries feel unhappy, tense, unfulfilled; and the developing countries like our own India are also following in their wake. That is why this subject of the science of *man growing beyond the merely physical and intellectual dimension into a truly spiritual dimension*, and manifesting thereby the spark of divinity within him, is so very important and relevant.

16. Śaṅkarācārya on the Science of Human Energy Resources

Śaṅkarācārya, while giving, in a very luminous passage in his comment on the *Kaṭhā Upaniṣad*, an insight into this infinite spiritual energy resource in man, gives us also something like a calculus of the energy resources within every human being. In precise scientific terms, he tells us that *the energy resources within every human being are organized in an ascending scale of subtlety, immensity, and inwardness—Sūkṣmā, mahāntāśca, pratyagātma-bhūtāśca*. Muscular energy is gross, nervous energy is subtler, and psychic energy is even more subtle.

While giving these comparisons, he brings out another subtle truth, and it is this: As the energy becomes more and more subtle, *sūkṣma*, it also becomes more and more immense, *mahāntāśca*. As we saw earlier, the muscle looks big, but its real energy is in the tiny and subtle nerve fibre behind it. To recognize this truth, man needs a certain mental maturity; immature minds are dazzled by the gross, by mere quantity and size. If a child is asked: who is greater, a wrestler like Mohammad Ali or a frail Mahatma Gandhi, the child will reply: Certainly, Mohammad Ali, because he is muscular and

full of energy. The child mind cannot grasp the dimensions of subtle energies manifested in men like Gandhi, energies not only more subtle but also more immense in range and power. It is good to appreciate muscle power; but it is important to recognize powers finer, subtler, and more significant than that.

Muscular energy comes entirely from physical food; neural and psychic energy come less from physical food and more from a subtle and intangible inner combustion. The energy manifested by great scientists and social revolutionaries is greater than what their physical food-intake warranted. This is still more true of great world-moving and epoch-making personalities like Budha, Jesus, and Ramakrishna. The energy they manifested, and their impact on the world even after their physical death, bear no significant relation to the physical or even to the intellectual food they took when they were alive. On the other hand, the energy manifested by heavy eaters is qualitatively far inferior to the quantity of their food-intake.

Men and women, moved by lofty ideals of love and service, patriotism and human dedication, engage in untiring work entirely disproportionate to their physical, and even mental, food nourishments. Where do they get their energies from? Obviously, from the depth of their personalities.

17. *The Upaniṣads on 'The Science of Human Possibilities'*

Anticipating by over four thousand years the demand voiced by the late biologist Sir Julian Huxley for a new 'science of human possibilities', the *Kaṭhā Upaniṣad* proclaims the truth of the infinite possibilities in man, and how to unfold that truth, in one of its greatest verses (III.12):

*Eṣa sarveṣu bhūteṣu gūḍho ātmāna prakāśate;
Dr̥ṣyate tvagryayā buddhyā sūkṣmayā sūkṣma-darśibhiḥ—*

This (infinite) Ātman, being hidden in all beings (like fire in ashes), does not shine in all: but (It) can be realized, made manifest, by all who are accustomed to enquire into subtle truths by means of their sharp and subtle reason.

The Ātman is the 'Imprisoned Splendour' in all, in the

language of Robert Browning in his poem: *Paracelsus*.

Śankarācārya's comment on this verse brings out the power of this great utterance:

Eṣa Puruṣaḥ sarveṣu—brahmādi stambha paryanteṣu—bhūteṣu, gūḍhaḥ—samvṛto, darśana-śravaṇādi karmā, avidyā-māyāc-channo; ata eva ātmā na prakāśate ātmatvena kasyacit.

Aho, atigambhīrā, duravagāhyā, vicitrā ca iyaṁ māyā, yad ayaṁ sarvo jantuḥ, paramārthataḥ, paramārtha satattvo api, evaṁ bodhyamāno, ahaṁ paramātmā iti na grhṇāti, anātmānaṁ dehendriyādi-saṅghātam, ātmano dṛśyamānam api, ghaṭādivat ātmatvena, ahaṁ amuṣya putraḥ iti, anucyamāno api, grhṇāti, Nūnaṁ parasyaiva māyayā momuhyamānaḥ sarvo loko baṁbhramīti! Tathā ca smaraṇam: 'Nāhaṁ prakāśaḥ sarvasya yoga-māyā samāvṛtaḥ', ityādi.

Nanu viruddham idam ucyate: 'matvā dhīro na śocati' (Kāthā Upaniṣad, III. 22), 'na prakāśate' iti ca. Naitadevam; asaṁskṛta buddheḥ avijñeyatvāt, 'na prakāśate' ityuktam.

Dṛśyate tu, saṁskṛtayā agryayā—agram iva agryā, tayā, ekāgrātayā upetayā, ityetat; sūkṣmayā—sūkṣma-vastu-nirūpanaparayā. Kaiḥ? Sūkṣma darśibhiḥ: 'Indriyebhyaḥ, parāḥ yarthāḥ' (ibid, III. 10) ityādi prakāreṇa, sūkṣmatā-pāram-parya-darśanena, parāṁ sūkṣmaṁ draṣṭuṁ śīlaṁ yeṣāṁ, te sūkṣmadarśinaḥ. Taiḥ, sūkṣma-darśibhiḥ, paṇḍitaḥ iti etat—

This *Puruṣa* (the Infinite Self) is hidden in all beings, from *Brahma* (the Cosmic Mind) down to stocks and stones, behind the activities of seeing, hearing, etc., covered by *māyā*, the veiling power, of *avidyā* (spiritual ignorance); for that very reason, the self does not manifest in all as the Self.

Alas! Extremely powerful and mysterious, difficult to comprehend; and variegated is this *māyā* (cosmic delusion) by which all beings, though in reality one with the Supreme Truth, and are also taught so, do not realize: 'I am the Supreme Ātman', on the contrary, they take, as their Self, the not-Self, like the complex of body and sense organs, which are *objects* (not the *subjects*) of experience, like pots and pans, and accordingly, hold notions such as 'I am the son of so and so', etc.; and all this even without any teaching!

māyā of the Supreme Lord. Accordingly, says the *Smṛti* such as this (*Gītā*, VII. 25):

I am not manifest to all, enveloped as they are with my power of *māyā*.

Some one may object that this seems to be contradictory statement, namely, 'realising (the Ātman), the wise do not grieve' (*Kaṭha Upaniṣad*, II.22), and '(I am) not manifest to all'.

It is not so (it is not contradictory); (The Ātman) is unknown to impure or unrefined *buddhi* or reason; hence it was said: '(I am) not manifest'.

But (this verse says emphatically):

'It is seen or realized'—by the refined sharp (*buddhi*) which has achieved concentration. By subtle (*buddhi*)—(by *buddhi*) trained in discovering subtle truths. By whom? By those who perceive truths: As mentioned in the verse (*Kaṭhā Upaniṣad*; III.10): 'As nuclear dimensions of sense objects are higher than the sense organs', etc., in this and other ways, those accustomed to grasp the comparative (higher and higher) subtleness of things, are (thus) able to see supremely subtle (reality)—they are the subtle seers; by them, *i.e.*, by the wise (is the Ātman realized).

18. 'Uttiṣṭhata! Jāgratā !'

The Upaniṣads not only present the great truth conveyed by such statements as 'That Thou Art', but also summon man to the great adventure of its progressive realisation in life and work, to the great adventure of climbing the Mount Everest of Experience. The clarion call of the *Kaṭhā Upaniṣad* is particularly significant in this connection—a clarion call made familiar in the modern age by the free rendering of it by Swami Vivekananda: 'Arise!, Awake! and stop not till the goal is reached' (III.14):

Uttiṣṭhata! jāgratā! prāpya varān nibodhata!

Kṣurasya dhārā niśītā duratyayā,

Durgam pathastat kavayo vadanti—

Arise, awake, enlighten yourself by approaching the great ones! Like the sharp edge of a razor is that path, difficult to tread and hard to cross; so say the sages (who have trodden it).

Śaṅkarācārya's comment on this verse is as much luminous as strengthening:

Evam puruṣa ātmani sarvaṁ pravilāpya, ... svarūpa darśane-naiva, svasthaḥ, praśantaḥ, kṛtakṛtyo bhavati yataḥ, ataḥ, tat darśanārtham, anādyavidyā prasuptāḥ, uttiṣṭhata, he jantavaḥ! Ātma-jñānābhīmukhā bhavata: jāgrata! ajñāna-nidrāyāḥ ghora-rūpāyāḥ, sarvānārtha bījabhūtāyāḥ, kṣayaṁ kuruta. Katham? Prapyā—upagamyā, varān—prakṛṣṭān ācāryān, tattvavidāḥ, tadupadiṣṭāṁ sarvāntaram ātmānam, aham asmi iti, nibodhata—avagacchata. Na hi upekṣitavyam iti, śrutiḥ anukāṁpayā āha, mātṛvat! ati sūkṣma-buddhi-viṣayatvāt jñeyasya.

Kim iva sūkṣma buddhiḥ iti? Ucyate: Kṣurasya dhārā—agram; niśitā—tīkṣṇīkṛtā, duratyayā—duḥkkena atyayo yasyāḥ, sā duratyayā yatha sā padbhyāṁ durgamanīyā, tathā durgam—dussampādanīyam, iti etat; pathaḥ—panthānam, tat jñāna-lakṣaṇaṁ mārgam, kavayo—medhāvino, vadanti—

Thus merging the entire universe in the *Puruṣa* or the Infinite Ātman, ... when, by this very realisation of one's own true nature, man becomes steady, supremely peaceful, and fulfilled, therefore, in order to realise: That, Arise! O ye creatures who are asleep in the sleep of beginnings (spiritual) ignorance; turn towards the path leading to the knowledge of the Self; Awake!—from this terrible sleep of (spiritual) ignorance which is the seed of all evils; put an end to it. How? Approaching the great ones—teachers who have realised the Truth—and, taught by them; realize for yourself the innermost Ātman as your true self. This (work) is never to be neglected; therefore, the *śruti* (the Upaniṣad) exhorts (all human beings), out of compassion like a mother! For, this knowledge or realization demands a *buddhi* or reason which is extremely subtle.

Like what is the nature of that *buddhi*? It is answered thus: The sharp edge of a razor, difficult to tread. As such a path is difficult to walk over, similarly difficult to walk over is this path—the path of (spiritual) knowledge; so say the sages, those endowed with extraordinary intelligence.

Ātman is lying hidden in every one, says Vedānta. But is it to remain so hidden all the time? Is there no way to bring it out? Yes, says the verse: *dṛśyate*—‘It *can be* realized, it *can be* manifested’. Please note the emphatic positive utterance proceeding from a verified and verifiable truth. There *is* a science of it, there *is* a technique of it. And that is what the Upaniṣads developed as *adhyātma-vidyā*.

A primitive man initially uses only his own muscular energy, and, later, the muscular energy involved in bull and horse power. An educated and civilized man uses his intellectual energy, along with his muscular energy. Through his intellect, he also invents rockets carrying millions of units of horse power. But, in order to achieve character and life fulfilment, man must manifest the coiled up energies of his inherent spiritual nature, say the Upaniṣads, and go beyond the merely organic or the merely intellectual dimensions of his individuality. That is the meaning of the last word in Śaṅkarācārya’s statement quoted earlier: *pratyagātmā-bhūtāśca*—‘and being of the nature of one’s inmost self’. The eminent palaeontologist, late Teilhard de Chardin, names the physical energies of the external universe as *the tangential form*, and the spiritual energies within man as *the radial form*, of one and the same universal energy. According to him, there is ‘a dynamic relationship existing between the *within* and the *without* of things at a given point in the universe’ (*The Phenomenon of Man*, p. 63). Using precise scientific terminology, our ancient seers have called the ‘within’ of nature as the *pratyak-rūpa*, and the ‘without’ of nature as the *parāk-rūpa* of one and the same universal non-dual Nature.

19. Static Piety versus Dynamic Spirituality

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, in his translation and exposition of *The Bhagavad Gītā*, tells us that, in our search for the self, we come across many *pretenders* to selfhood. Thus, the body is the first such pretender; the nervous system is the second such pretender. The psychic system is the third pretender. They are not the real self of man, but only its sheaths or vestments. The Ātman, the infinite divine Self—the *Śiva-svarūpa* or the *Cit-svarūpa* that is within all—that is the real self of man. That is the truth pointed out by the spiritual formula: *That Thou Art*. This is the most universal Truth, with the widest practical

relevance in life, among the truths proclaimed by the philosophy of Vedānta. Many have been, and still are, under the wrong impression that religion means only a static piety consisting of some ritual or ceremony; we go to the temple, church, or mosque, and come back the same individual that went in, without any spiritual growth. The positivists, the agnostics, and the atheists, on their part, consider such religion a opium for the people, as means for hypnotizing the people. That is not the science of religion at all, but only the *piety-fringed worldliness* of an *ethnic* religion. Vedānta, in its *adhyātmā-vidyā*, presents religion, says Swami Vivekananda, as *dynamic spirituality* meant to *de-hypnotize* all people, pious and impious alike, and awaken them to their true nature as the Ātman, the ever-free, the ever-awake, the ever-pure Self. It was about such a static religion, largely hypnotic and weakening, and often in collision with rational science and progressive social order, and in contrast with the bold and clear profile of the dynamic spirituality of the science of religion as spiritual awakening and spiritual growth, that Vivekananda wrote in a letter to Sister Nivedita (*Letters of Vivekananda*, p. 320, 1948 edition):

My ideal indeed can be put into a few words and that is: to preach unto mankind their divinity, and how to make it manifest in every movement of life....

One idea that I see clear as daylight is that misery is caused by *ignorance* and nothing else. Who will give the world light? Sacrifice in the past has been the law; it will be, alas, for ages to come. The earth's bravest and best will have to sacrifice themselves for the good of many, for the welfare of all. Buddhas by the hundreds are necessary with eternal love and pity.

Religions of the world have become lifeless mockeries. What the world wants is character. The world is in need of those whose life is one burning love, selfless. The love will make every word tell like thunderbolt.

Religion, according to Vivekananda, is truly the science of allround human growth, which includes physical and intellectual growth as much as spiritual growth. 'It is', he says, 'the *manifestation* of the Divinity already in man'. This is the

science of *vyakti-vikāsa* or *ātma-vikāsa*—growth and development of individuality, expansion of self-awareness beyond organic limitations.

20. *The Vedāntic Calculus of Bliss*

The *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* in its fascinating section giving a calculus of happiness or bliss, first gives a unit of bliss and then gives its multiples; and the unit it chooses is the human happiness of a youth, and its multiples form superhuman, divine, and super-divine grades of bliss; and by the reiteration of *śrotriyasya cā akāma-hatasya* at every stage, it proclaims the glory of the bliss of the realisation of the *Ātman*, the realisation of the truth of *Tat Tvam Asi*, and the supreme sense of fulfilment experienced in its wake. The *Upaniṣad* equates this bliss with all the grades of bliss—human, super-human, divine, and super-divine (II.8):

Saiṣa ānandasya mīmāṃsā bhavati: Yuvā syāt, sādhu yuvā, adhyāyakaḥ: āśiṣṭho, dṛḍhiṣṭho, baliṣṭhaḥ; tasyeyam pṛthivī sarvā vittasya pūrṇā syāt; sa eko mānuṣa ānandāḥ.

Te ye śataṃ mānuṣā ānandāḥ, sa eko manuṣya-gandharvāṇām ānandāḥ; śrotriyasya cā-kāmahatasya . . .

Te ye śataṃ indrasya ānandāḥ, sa eko brhaspateḥ ānandāḥ; śrotriyasya cā-kāmahatasya.

Te ye śataṃ brhaspateḥ ānandāḥ, sa ekaḥ prajāpateḥ ānandāḥ; śrotriyasya cā-kāmahatasya.

Te ye śataṃ prajāpateḥ ānandāḥ, sa eko brahmṇa ānandāḥ; śrotriyasya cā-kāmahatasya—

This is the investigation into bliss: Take a youth, a good youth; well educated, full of hope, tough in mind, and strong in body; let him have command of all this earth with its fullness of wealth (for the satisfaction of all his organic cravings); that constitutes a unit of human bliss.

A hundred units of such human bliss constitute the unit of bliss of a *manuṣya-gandharva* (a type of super-human angel); (and this is equal to) the bliss of a human being who has realized the spirit of true religion (realized the *Ātman*) and is not a slave to organic cravings;

... A hundred units of the bliss of *Indra* (the lord of all the *devas*) constitute the unit of *Brahspati* (the guru of the *devas*); (and this is equal to) the bliss of a human being who has realized the spirit of true religion and is not a slave to organic cravings.

A hundred units of the bliss of *Bṛhaspati* constitute the unit of bliss of *Prajāpati* (the Lord of all creatures); (and this is equal to) the bliss of a human being who has realized the spirit of true religion and is not a slave to organic cravings;

A hundred units of the bliss of *Prajāpati* constitute the unit of the bliss of Brahman (the Infinite self of man and all nature); (and this is equal to) the bliss of a human being who has realized the spirit of true religion and is not a slave to organic cravings.

21. Wide Relevance of the *Gītā* Concept of 'Rājaraṣi'

The Upaniṣads do not minimize the importance of physical or intellectual developments and of the human joys at these levels. But they insist that there are higher levels and grades of joy. A mere scholar, therefore, is not highly esteemed in India. Sri Ramakrishna used to compare a mere scholar, one who has not grown morally and spiritually, to a kite flying high up in the sky, but rivetting its attention on the carcasses below. His intellect, though well stocked with knowledge, is in thrall to his organic cravings. What is great about a sharp intellect, if it has not felt the inspiring and energizing touch of something deeper behind itself, namely, the *Ātman*? The intellect on which only the light of the ever-fluctuating sensory system falls is a spiritually weak and poor intellect; but the intellect on which the light of the *Ātman* falls is wonderfully great and steady and luminous. That is the *Buddhi*, pure reason and pure will, of the exhortation: 'take refuge in *buddhi*'—*buddhau śaraṇam anvicaḥ*, of the *Bhagavad Gītā*. *Buddhi* alone has the capacity to discipline the entire psychic energy system, to enthroned man in the sovereignty and delight of freedom and equality, and to orient that energy system to human purposes. *Buddhi* is what experiences *bodhi* or spiritual enlightenment; and one who experiences this *bodhi* fully is called *Buddha*.

The philosophy of the *Gītā* is specially relevant to those who

work in the field of public administration, if they seriously seek to make their work efficient and constructive, and themselves creative and fulfilled. A good administrator is a *rājārṣi*, says the *Gītā* in verse two of its fourth chapter. Now, the term *rājārṣi* means, according to Śaṅkarācārya, one who is both a *rājā* and a *ṛṣi* in one. *Ṛṣi* or sage does not necessarily mean a person who goes to the Himalayas and just sits in meditation. A *ṛṣi* simply means, one who has *grown spiritually*, who has felt the touch of the infinite resource of the Ātman within; a *ṛṣi* is defined as *mantradrastā*, a seer or experiencer of spiritual truths. And *rājā* means, not necessarily a crowned head—such heads are becoming a rarity these days—but one *who handles authority and power*. So, when a person combines power with spiritual inwardness, authority with sensitiveness to ethical and human values and social responsibilities, that person becomes a *rājārṣi*. The greatness of a *rājārṣi* is the product of work efficiency combined with ethical and moral efficiency. And this is achieved by the processing of human psychic energy into *buddhi*, through education in the context of one's life and work.

When power becomes humanly oriented, it becomes spiritual, and the man or woman who handles such power becomes a spiritual person with a socially oriented will. He or she may not go to any temple, church or mosque; may not bathe in any holy river; may not do any ritual, but he or she has grown spiritually. With that growth comes a new energy resource which will help him or her to withstand temptations small or big, and keep oneself steady in the path of integrity, justice, and dedication to service. Says Swami Vivekananda in his *Karma Yoga* (*The Complete Works*, Vol. I. p. 93):

This attainment does not depend on any dogma, or doctrine, or belief. Whether one is Christian, or Jew, or Gentile, it does not matter. Are you unselfish? That is the question. If you are, you will be perfect without reading a single religious book, without going into a single church or temple. Each one of our Yogas is fitted to make man perfect even without the help of the others, because they have all the same goal in view. The Yogas of work, of wisdom, and of devotion are all capable of serving as direct and independent means for the attainment of *Mokṣa*

(spiritual liberation). 'Fools alone say that work and philosophy are different, not the learned' (*the Gītā*). The learned know that, though apparently different from each other, they at last lead to the same goal of human perfection.

22. *Significance of Homeostasis in Evolution*

Nature has endowed us all with a physiological capacity in our ophthalmic system to balance ourselves physically in such a way that we can stand and walk, without falling, on a minimum of feet support. But we have to gain, by our own efforts, a new spiritual capacity for *emotional* balance; and mother nature has also endowed us with the organic capacity to achieve this psychological balance. That is what our higher brain is meant for; according to modern neurology, it is meant to be a controller and guide of our entire sensory, neural, and psychic energy system, with a view to giving man the taste of spiritual freedom. Vedānta considers the higher brain as truly higher, only when it develops this capacity and evolves into *buddhi*.

Says neurologist Grey Walter (*The Living Brain*, p. 16):

The acquisition of internal temperature control, thermostasis, was a supreme event in neural, indeed in all natural history. It made possible the survival of mammals on a cooling globe. That was its general importance in evolution. Its particular importance was that it completed, in one section of the brain, an automatic system of stabilization for the vital functions of the organism—a condition known as homeostasis. With this arrangement, other parts of the brain are left free for functions not immediately related to the vital engine or the senses, for functions surpassing the wonders of homeostasis itself.

The matter is epitomized in a famous saying of the French physiologist, Claude Bernard: *La fixité du milieu intérieur es la condition de la vie libre* (a fixed interior milieu is the condition for the free life.)

Again (*ibid.*, pp. 18-19):

For the mammals all, homeostasis was survival; for man, emancipation, . . .

The experience of homeostasis, the perfect mechanical calm which it allows the brain, has been known for two or three thousand years under various appellations. It is the physiological aspect of all the perfectionist faiths—*nirvāṇa*, the abstraction of the *yogi*, the peace that passeth understanding, the derided 'happiness that lies within'; it is a state of grace in which disorder and disease are mechanical slips and errors.

23. *Homeostasis and Yoga*

The *Gītā* defines its philosophy of yoga, the technique of its comprehensive spirituality, as *samatvam*, 'equanimity', emotional balance, and as *karmasu kauśalam*, 'efficiency in action.' It is a double efficiency, namely, productive social efficiency without, the *rājā* component, and personal spiritual efficiency within, the *ṛṣi* component, of its *rājārṣi* concept. This is the *yoga* that makes every worker into a *rājārṣi*—the administrator, the simple artisan, and the housewife. *Physical nature's powers tamed and creatively used is civilization; man's powers tamed and creatively used is culture and spirituality.*

Often, when a person achieves power, he does not know how to digest it, how to use it for the good of man. He becomes *inebriated* with it, just as a man becomes intoxicated with *madhu* or *sura*, i.e., wine. The Sanskrit word for inebriation is *mada*; and the *Mahabhārata* tells us that it should be converted into its reverse, i.e., *dama*, which means perfect self-discipline and self-control.

And this *dama* (perfect digestion of sensory energy which is the opposite of *mada* or inebriation) and its sister discipline of *śama*, perfect digestion of psychic energy, constitute the moral and ethical self-discipline of man, according to every system of Indian religion and philosophy.

By means of such self-discipline alone can one digest power, be it political power, intellectual power, or money power, and give it a humanistic orientation. By mere intellectual development alone, you can never digest either power or any tendency to exploit or harm other people. But a slight growth in spirituality arising from such self-discipline can make all the difference. Such spiritual growth is the birthright of every man, woman, and child, says Vedānta, because it is built into. is

inherent in, all human beings.

Says Shakespeare about such indigestion and inebriation of power in his *Measure for Measure* (I. ii. 117-22):

. . . . but man, proud man,
Drest in a little brief authority,
Most ignorant of what he's most assured,
His glassy essence, like an angry ape,
plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven,
As makes the angels weep.

24. Conversion of all 'Madā' into 'Dama'

The science of man in depth, the science of *adhyātma-vidyā*, must therefore be imparted to children from an early age, so that they may increasingly take on themselves the responsibility to train themselves in character-efficiency and humanistic impulses. They must be impressed with the truth that enormous energies, of ascending levels of subtlety, immensity, and inwardness, lie asleep within them, and that muscle power and brain power are not the only forms of energy that they hold within themselves, or that they should educate themselves to manifest. Says the *Mahābhārata* (V. 34, 42):

Vidyā-mado dhana madaḥ
ṛtīyo 'bhījanomadaḥ;
Ete madā-valiptānām
eta eva satāṁ damaḥ—

Inebriation of knowledge, inebriation of wealth, and inebriation of genetic pedigree as the third; these are *madas* (inebriation) only for the unrefined or uncultured; but to the good and the righteous, these become *dama* (perfect digestion and discipline of the sensory energies).

The *Gītā* describes the technique of converting all *mada* into *dama*, by the steady unfolding of one's inherent spiritual energy resources; and that technique is covered by the single word referred to above, namely, *yoga*. Be not merely a mechanical worker, be a creative worker, be a *yogi*, says the *Gītā* (VI.40):

tasmāt yogī bhavārjuna—‘therefore, be a yogi, O Arjuna.’ Whoever you are, whatever be your field of work—farmer, industrial worker, administrator, politician, housewife—be a yogi, exhorts Śrī Kṛṣṇa. Combine your physical and mental energies with your inborn spiritual energy resources; and give that combined energy system a human orientation, and work for the good of all. That is the energy of character-efficiency, the best form of human energy.

Man must be rich in emotion; even animals are rich in emotion. Can a bird build its nest without the stimulus of emotion, asks the great neurologist Sherrington. Emotion controlled by will and directed to work is efficiency, says Swami Vivekananda. Here the energy of will comes into play. And character-efficiency is centred in a socially-oriented will, a dynamic man-ward love in action.

We are all summoned by Vedānta to bring out the greatness that is already built into all of us. That is the meaning of its great dictum: *Tat Tvam Asi*. Whenever one is tempted to do a wrong, let him or her remember this great truth of *Tat Tvam Asi*, or *Cidānandarūpaḥ Śivo’ham*, as Śaṅkarācārya sings in his famous *Nirvāṇa śaṅkam*. Men and women will then realise that wrong-doing is not in their true nature, that there is something infinite and pure and luminous within them, memory of which can overcome all temptations.

25. *The Pre-eminent Role of the Political State*

When this knowledge becomes part and parcel of a person’s awareness, he or she becomes naturally, effortlessly, spontaneously, moral and good. Be they living at varying stages of spiritual growth, such persons, filling political and administrative positions, can transform creatively the whole human situation in our country. Bhīṣma’s exhortation to Yudhiṣṭhira in the *Mahābhārata* about the pre-eminence of the political state rings most true today (12.70.6):

*Kālo vā kāraṇam rājñah rājā vā kāla-kāraṇam;
Iti te samśayo mā bhūt, rājā kālasya kāraṇam—*

Is time the cause of the political state or the state the cause

of time? Let not this doubt assail you; for it is the political state that creates and determines the times (in which we live).

Today we need, in politics and administration, men and women who have achieved at least the minimum level of spiritual growth, and not those who have got arrested at the merely physical or the merely intellectual levels. The welfare of the nation needs increasing numbers of persons who have combined in themselves two types of heroism, namely, *the heroism of manliness and the heroism of spirituality*, and who, therefore, handle the power and authority invested in them by the nation with the harmonized energy constituted of character, dedication, and practical efficiency. Even an ounce of this *Dharma*, even a little of this *ādhyātmikā* energy, can do immense good to the nation and to the world at large, as attested by the *Gītā* verse quoted earlier (II.40): *Svalpamapyasya dharmasya trāyate mahato bhayāt*.

26. *The Science of Human Energy Resources: Its Universal Appeal*

I have found that this science of the spiritual energy resources in man is a most intriguing and fascinating subject to thinking people in all countries, including those in Marxist countries. In October 1977, when I was addressing the Moscow State University on the subject suggested by the University, namely, *Swami Vivekananda: His Humanism*, I had referred to Swami Vivekananda's humanism deriving sanction and strength from the Ātman, from the Vedāntic truth of *Tat Tvam Asi*, the truth of the infinite divine dimension in every human being, unlike the humanism, even the scientific humanism, of the modern West, which has no insight into this depth of the human personality. During the stimulating question-answer session that followed, one of the professors asked, what turned out to be, the main question of the session: 'Is there such a spiritual focus in man? We would like to know more about it.'

In the course of my reply, I said: 'Yes, due to the proved limitations of the current Western humanistic philosophy, the social evils of Western society are already invading your

Marxist society as well. Vivekananda helps you to deepen that philosophy with the *science of man in depth* taught by India's Vedānta. This science tells you today that, along with the valuable socio-economic and political measures to develop man in your Marxist society, never forget to take measures to help man to unfold this spiritual dimension within him. Then only will you succeed in evolving a healthy peaceful social order in your country, enabling you to realise the Marxist and Communist ideal of the eventual withering away of the political state itself.'

The questioner thanked me for bringing this Vedāntic philosophy of humanism to them; and one of the professors presented me with an autographed copy of his book on Swami Vivekananda in Russian, carrying a picture of the Swami on the cover.

If other nations need this science, we in India need its understanding and practical implementation in our own country still more, if we are to achieve our noble national objective of total human development for a seventh of the human race. Our politics and administration must be geared towards the realization of that objective; for this, we shall need batches of men and women with vast energies integrated within and oriented to human purposes without. The current dismal national scene of callousness, inefficiency, senseless political violence, and corruption only indicates that somewhere something has gone wrong with us as human beings. While schooling facilities have expanded, bringing in vast sections of our people to education, sensitiveness to human values has contracted. Education has come, but culture has tarried! And education without culture makes for cleverness and crudeness, and even crookedness. These can be remedied only when we take the next step in education, namely, marching towards spiritual growth, towards *ādhyātmika vikāsa*, through the same education continued to moral and spiritual dimensions. Along with the development of scientific and technical efficiency for successfully dealing with the outer world, we must ensure the development of a spiritual efficiency within, so that a total human development of man-making and nation-building can take place within our generation. Our life and work should have the powerful stimulus of this motivation today.

27. Conclusion

This evening, I have tried to indicate to you only some aspects of this great subject; but I wish you to remember, and also ponder deeply over that sentence of Śaṅkarācārya referred to earlier, which contains so much of precise scientific knowledge about man, compressed in a small statement, namely, that every human being possesses energy resources which are organized in an ascending scale of subtlety, immensity, and inwardness: *sūkṣma, mahāntaśca, pratyagātma-bhūtaśca*. Try to manifest the deeper and vaster and purer energy resources that are within you. You will then become a person with a stable and steady, rich and pure reason and will. It is evident that it is the forces within man that, projected without him, create tension and disorder or peace and well-being in society. Outside stability can therefore be established only by stability within. As remarked by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan in his famous book *Eastern Religions and Western Thought*:

The passions of the heart upset the balance of the mind and the even course of the world.

The preamble of the UNESCO is a part of a political document; but it is a political document that contains, for the first time, a spiritual message when it proclaims:

Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed.

If you want to evolve a healthy society, the inner man must be fully nourished, fully strengthened, and fully stabilized emotionally. Only then will he project a pattern of excellence all around him. Today, many people in India, holding power and authority, are spiritually weak and ill-nourished; they consequently throw out of themselves only hatred, violence, selfishness, and corruption; *they become tempted, corrupted, and fall down at the touch of even a mild breeze of temptation*. The result is chaos and confusion everywhere. That is why this *science of man in depth*, this *adhyātma-vidhyā*, holds the key to all healthy nations.

resources which that science and technique will make available for our people will help them to *digest and assimilate* all other energy resources, like knowledge, power, wealth, and position, now being increasingly made available to our people through physical science and technology and our socio-economic development programmes. That is the only way to make economic development subserve allround human development, instead of becoming toxic to the human system and ending up in digesting him! Such a result, as observed by the eighteenth century English poet, Oliver Goldsmith, will be a national tragedy for us today:

Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates and men decay!

We have to ask: Why should men decay when wealth accumulates? And the clear answer comes: because wealth digests spiritually weak man instead of man digesting wealth; and that latter digestion is a spiritual digestion similar to man's physical body digesting the food ingested and gaining growth and strength thereby. This is the finest and sweetest fruit of all true education—*sā vidyā yā vimuktaye*—that is knowledge which liberates, which gives freedom; and freedom is a spiritual value. And our nation will be marching in the direction of true human progress when millions of our people will experience this value of spiritual liberation in this very life and not as a post-mortem promise.

PHILOSOPHY AND TECHNIQUES OF INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT

1. *Introductory*

I AM seeing, talking with, and communing with *living* people, those who live in the full sense of that term as defined by Swami Vivekananda in a letter written in 1894 to the Maharaja of Mysore from America (*Letters of Vivekananda*, p. 111):

This life is short, the vanities of the world are transient, but they alone live who live for others: the rest are more dead than alive.

That is a very powerful sentiment. The whole of India today must try to live in the light of that idea. Because I see several of you belonging to that category, I feel happy to spend some time with you.

2. *Anatomy of Current Frustrations*

Wherever I go in India, the first question I often ask of people when they are introduced to me is: 'How are you?' To this I often get the answers: *Jaisa Chalta Hai*—'somehow going on'!

Such people are half-dead without any interest or zest in the life of people around them; they are a bag of complaints and a tissue of frustrations. What is it all due to? And I answer it straight: *Due to a wrong philosophy of life*. Even though things are difficult in our country, we need not say, *jaisa chalta hai*. We can, in the spirit of a citizen and with a sense of national commitment, as well say: 'Yes, it is fine; and we can

Based on the tape record of an extempore speech to a group of Bombay, especially Kutchi, industrialists, assembled at the invitation, and in the premises of Excel Industries, Jogeshwari (W), Bombay, on

make it finer still'. *That heroic and robust philosophy is lacking.* Even among students, when we meet with them in the universities, we find so much of frustration. What is its source? Let me answer it straight: *Ninety per cent of all such current frustrations in our nation is due to a wrong self-centred philosophy of life, a philosophy which always demands and which says: 'The world or the nation has not done enough for me'.*

That is the main problem. There is no place in it for the attitude involved in the question: 'What have I done for my nation? What can I do for the millions of my fellow-countrymen who are sunk in poverty and ignorance for centuries?' So, frustration is an universal experience today arising mainly from an insensitive and self-centred attitude; *and this is more tragic death than physical death*, according to Swami Vivekananda—man dying mentally and spiritually, even while being very much alive physically!

But the atmosphere here is different. Here, before me, I see so many people engaged in various types of services for the common people. Hence I feel I am in the company of *living* people, and I get the stimulus thereof.

3. *The Grāmaśrī Project*

Kantibhai has been several times to Andhra Pradesh to help us in our cyclone rehabilitation programme. I must record it here that he, with his long experience in industry and scientific research, and with his dedicated involvement in rural development work for years, has been a source of great strength to us of the Ramakrishna Mission in our relief service activities. And this is true about his whole family. All of them have been of great help to the monks of the Ramakrishna Order in our relief and rehabilitation work earlier in Gujarat, and now on a vaster scale in Andhra Pradesh, where more than Rs. 6 million are being spent in relief and rehabilitation, including building of about one thousand one hundred r.c.c. houses in inaccessible areas. Along with the housing, as Kantibhai has said just now, we have also kept in view follow-up services bearing on making their lives happier and more fulfilled, as they move into the new houses built for them. It is out of this consideration that an

formulated for early implementation. It has got a significant name: Grāmaśrī. It means how to bring Śrī to our villages. But that is the one thing that is so far lacking in almost all our villages in our country—What a beautiful concept is 'Śrī' in our tradition!

The Grāmaśrī project will combine education, economic measures, cultural development, sanitation, environmental hygiene, youth welfare, family planning, and all such other constituents of a total rural development programme.

Our national programmes have somewhat neglected environmental hygiene and sanitation, nullifying thereby much of our health-care project results. Among the positive steps to improve environmental hygiene, the most important one is the education and training of our people, in villages and towns alike, to refrain from the current highly unhealthy and uncivilized practice of using river and canal banks, rail tracks, bunds, and public roads for toilet purposes. *This itself will mark a social revolution.* Many of our people are very sensitive about strangers looking on while they are taking food; but this sensitiveness turns into complete insensitiveness when it comes to their toilet practices. It is urgent that all such people are educated to realize that it is preferable to *eat in public* and *ease in private* than to *ease in public* and *to eat in private*!

The most important emphasis of the project will be on the human person, focussing attention on how to make him or her better, purer, nobler. Much of the money earned by our rural people and urban labour is wasted, because of the lack of knowledge and ideas as to what constitutes the qualitative enrichment of life and how to use increasing earnings to that end. All this can be changed by concentrated educational work among the people making them realize the higher aesthetic, moral, and spiritual dimensions in themselves, over and above the purely physical and organic, by helping them to awaken the divinity already in them, in the luminous words of Swami Vivekananda. The divine spark, the Ātman, is there in every being; but it is covered over by the ashes of ignorance. Remove the ashes and the fire of the knowledge of the ever-present Ātman will burn once again. *That is the Vedāntic background of this kind of total human developmental work.* In the light of this great philosophic teaching, Vivekananda gave a scientific

definition of education and religion:

Education is the manifestation of the *perfection* already in man.

Religion is the manifestation of the *divinity* already in man.

4. *The True Meaning of Saraswatī and Lakṣmī*

In recent centuries, we in India wrongly associated the word 'Śrī' with mere dead wealth in hand—plenty of gold, plenty of dead money, preserved carefully under the pillow. That is an entirely wrong notion of the concept of 'Śrī'. Around *Lakṣmī* and *Śrī* cluster profound social, aesthetic, and spiritual ideas and values. All over the world, people cherish and respect them. But our minds had become narrower and narrower for centuries and we narrowed down the concept of *Śrī* to mean just dead wealth in hand.

Fortunately, today, we are beginning to understand *Śrī* differently. Whatever ensures happiness and welfare of the people, brings joy and cheer to the people, that is *Śrī*. That means that wealth becomes *Śrī* only when it is invested, when it is productive, through intelligent, efficient, cooperative hard work. Otherwise, it is not only not *Śrī* but is often a-*Śrī*. Mere money has no value at all. Money, in the service of man, bringing happiness and cheer to man, alone is *Śrī*.

That is a beautiful concept. *Śrī* does not mean, therefore, merely bringing more money into the pockets of people. That is already coming in many cases, just like today's urban labour earning Rs. 500 to Rs. 1000 a month by way of wages and benefits. But their lives have no corresponding *Śrī* at all, no touch of human welfare, no qualitative improvement. *Śrī* is therefore, a very profound term, covering all aspects of human development and welfare.

So, to this particular project, we decided to give the name *Grāmaśrī*. The Ramakrishna Samiti in Vijayawada, an independent local institution not directly under the Mission but working under the inspiration of its ideals and possessing a group of dedicated workers, and helped by the members of the Mission, has been functioning as the centre of this work since some years in the Krishna District of Andhra Pradesh of

which Vijayawada is the most important town.

The *Grāmaśrī* project is meant to cover, for the time being, all the 10 villages in the Divisima taluk of Krishna District and the tribal colony in Bapatla in the neighbouring Guntur District, which have been adopted by the Mission for building pucca houses for the cyclone-affected people.

5. *Rural Response to Sarasvatī and Lakṣmī*

I am now in Hyderabad where, since 1973, we have a branch of Ramakrishna Belur Math, West Bengal. Just now, it has moved into its new premises, with its 6.5 acres of land donated by the State Government, in which it is now engaged in the implementation of its Rs. 45 lakhs development project, constituting a health centre, an institute of culture, and a Sri Ramakrishna temple. Once that project is completed and dedicated by early next year, the Math will become a strong base to extend its hand of service all over the State, wherever the *Grāmaśrī* project spreads out to do its development work.

When I went to inaugurate three of the newly built villages in the Divisima taluk just a few days ago, the entire population of one of the villages, Vivekanandapuram, turned up to hear me, Kantibhai, and other speakers, after a simple opening ceremony of the local temple, in the Mission-built spacious community shelter, with an attitude of expectation. It was all unexpected and unplanned. What joy and what enthusiasm I witnessed allround me! Each family has now got an r.c.c. home; they have land, small or big, to cultivate; they all have a spacious two-storey community shelter; they have got also a new temple. But they lack something non-material, namely, ideas as to how to utilise all these fully for their own benefit.

So we spoke to them on that subject. I told them that we wanted to bring into their villages the blessing of *Śrī*, and added: 'But if you want *Śrī*, you must seek for and find something else behind it; and that something else is called *Vāṇī* or *Sarasvatī*—knowledge. Without *Sarasvatī*, there can be no *Śrī* or *Lakṣmī*. It was a misfortune in India in recent centuries that we persuaded ourselves to believe that *Sarasvatī* and

not. That was our idea till recently; but it is entirely a wrong idea. And we are slowly learning the truth that where there is *Sarasvatī*, only there does *Lakṣmī* come. These two values, knowledge on the one side and wealth and welfare on the other, always go together. *They are truly friendly sisters; and until India brings these two sisters together in a friendly way into all our villages and homes, there can be no Śrī in India.*

All human wealth and welfare flow from *tested and verified knowledge*. Therefore, so far as man is concerned, it is first knowledge, it is first science—*Vidyā*, then wealth and welfare, *Śrī*.

6. *Sarasvatī and Lakṣmī in Western Culture*

The truth of this is seen in the modern developments in the West. The Western people first devoted themselves to *Sarasvatī*, for example, scientific research. Through such research, they advanced man's knowledge of nature and man. Out of that *primary tapas of knowledge seeking*, there came, as a by-product, that beautiful blessing of *Śrī*, the blessing of wealth and welfare, through a *second tapas of hard, honest, cooperative labour*, that you see in all those countries.

Our understanding of *Śrī* and *Sarasvatī* was highly warped and limited, as everything in our thinking was, during the last few centuries. Even God became similarly limited. To most of us, God merely means an idol in a temple or a picture in the shrine. For most of us, there is no other dimension of God. On the contrary, our philosophy and religion teach that God is the heart of the universe, the inner Self or *antaryāmī* of man and nature. We can commune with God through our work, through our life, through our relationships with other human beings, as much as through our meditation, worship, and prayer. Unfortunately, that idea of God became completely eliminated in our thinking and a *static piety* took its place. We became devotees of a particular idol in a particular temple, and nothing else; and we failed to achieve *dynamic spirituality* and its beautiful expression in the establishment of a healthy, happy, cooperative relationship with man and woman around us. In this narrowing down, we became our own enemies and

slavery and colossal poverty.

We have done the same narrowing down with regard to our two lovable goddesses, *Sarasvatī* and *Lakṣmī*, with the same, or even more disastrous, consequences. The West has shown us today that these two are integrally related. In our ancient history also, our ancestors were great lovers of *Sarasvatī*, thereby they became also blessed with *Lakṣmī*, and thus they made India famous the world over as *the land of wisdom and wealth*. In recent centuries, due to the weaknesses of our minds and the narrowing of our hearts, we failed to grasp these conceptions in their true forms.

7. *Wealth and Welfare to Flow from Knowledge*

I often tell our people that the idea of religion in India, even among intellectuals and *pandits*, often finds expression in diverse childish and cheap forms. One of the cheapest of such forms is going to Rishikesh or Haridwar, paying Rs. 5 to a priest, and catching hold of the tail of a cow to go to heaven! If that is religion, how small must be the mind that understands this profound subject in that cheap way! Today, however, our people are learning anew. The West has been a stimulant to us to correctly understand our own philosophy of human life and human destiny. And our own authentic modern teachers like Swami Vivekananda have done the same more powerfully.

From that authentic point of view, I told the villagers there: 'First bring in *Sarasvatī*, rouse the love of knowledge in you all; seek and find it through the *tapas* of education. There are beautiful things in life for all of you to enjoy, if you have knowledge with you. If Kantibhai wants to do something for you by way of rural development measures, you will not be able to appreciate it, or assimilate it, or benefit fully from it, if you do not have the blessings of *Sarasvatī*, the strength of knowledge with you. First seek the blessings of *Sarasvatī*, then the blessings of *Lakṣmī* will flow spontaneously as a by-product of that first blessing.'

8. *Initiation of a Rural Population into Vidyārambham*

They liked this idea very much. I told them that they

must begin to learn reading and writing in Telugu, and later on, taste the joy of reading holy books along with secular books, leading to economic and cultural betterment of their own lives. In this way, they will themselves become their own friends, their own saviours, with others merely helping them in the process. And, these ideas were very much appreciated by the people.

I asked them: 'How many of you know reading and writing Telugu? Please raise your hands.' Only two people raised their hands. Thirtytwo years after independence, only two people in that village know a little reading and writing! All others are still illiterate. Then I said: 'That won't do; every one must learn reading and writing. What help do you want? Do you want a teacher? Tell me frankly.' They talked among themselves and then one of them said that they wanted a woman teacher for the women and a man teacher for the men. 'What time of the day or night do you want the teachers to come and serve you?', I asked. They preferred the evening hours when they returned home from work. I said to them: 'That is all right; we shall arrange for it; in three months, you must all learn reading and writing. When thus the goddess of *Sarasvatī* will come to your homes, you will be able to absorb whatever services the *Grāmaśrī* will give you and convert them into wealth and welfare. Otherwise, you will be always at the receiving end, always dependent, always helpless *creatures of circumstances*, and will never realise what freedom and human dignity means. This is what you are lacking now. You must now strive earnestly to achieve it. Treat today's this session as your *vidyārambham* ceremony, initiation into *vidyā* or knowledge.'

There was a tremendous response from the entire audience. It was an inspiring experience to all of us too. We saw that, when new ideas are put before our rural people, they respond; *but ideas must be presented to them in a way they can understand and appreciate*. Economic and social improvements, as integral parts of spiritual development of man, will meet with general response from our common people, as Swami Vivekananda has pointed out in his *Lectures from Colombo to Almora* (*Complete Works*, Vol. III). Generally, what many of our politicians talk to them do not go to their heads or hearts; they

don't get convinced. Only at the election time do most of them show interest in the people; that interest begins and ends with appealing for their votes. There is no consistent patriotic effort on their part to *educate the people* about our democratic national state and how they, as its free citizens, constitute its strength and sanction.

Economic development should form only a part, certainly an important part, of the concept of human development, and not the whole of it. It is on this basic premise that the *Grāmaśrī* project has been conceived. It is expected to begin its organised operations immediately. By the end of June, all the 1,100 houses will have been completed and dedicated; and then will commence the intensive initiation of this rural development service to build up the manhood and womanhood of the people.

9. *Orientation of Industry and Business to Rural Development*

We were impressed with the fact that the children of these villages are very intelligent, cheerful, and hard working, though not literate. Kantibhai has already chosen about 30 young people out of them and given them what he calls 'Vivekananda Scholarships' to give them leadership training, *so that they may become effective instruments of social change*. They will absorb new ideas and implement them. All these various programmes are to be concentrated, initially, in the Divisima taluka and in Bapatla, because the people there already know the Ramakrishna Mission and its ideals and are in a mood to respond. It is, therefore, easy to work with them and for them. The technical help needed is being provided by the various workers of the Excel Industries of Bombay and the IDL Chemicals of Hyderabad. The project needs guidance and help from practical people, those who know how to produce maximum goods at minimum cost. Mere idealism won't be enough, mere emotional exuberance won't do. As Swami Vivekananda has taught us, what is needed is high idealism wedded to down-to-earth practicality and efficiency, and both finding expression in *silent* work to galvanize our rural population.

In Kutch, in the State of Gujarat, the people have this

spirit of enterprise. Kutch is an ancient holy region according to our *Purānās*; but today, it is a poor district of Gujarat with scanty rainfall. Many of its resourceful people go to other parts of India and abroad, invest their talents in industry and business, and make plenty of money. During the last few centuries, Kutchis and their neighbours, the Sindhis, have established themselves in various parts of the world and have been able to earn plenty of money and live easy lives. But during the last few years, we see a welcome change in their outlook. The same talent and the same capacity and the same financial resources are being utilised more and more for economic and human development in India. Such a wholesome change is slowly setting in among other sections of our industrialists also. *This is the most heartening and the most promising aspect of our new national situation.*

We have various types of people in India who have plenty of capacity to make money. But till now, the way they spent that money in an unhealthy feudal way, mostly in ostentatious empty living and lavish marriages of daughters and sons, produced only a jarring effect on the national democratic situation. Today, however, some of them are beginning to inspire themselves with this healthy new idea: 'Let us invest our money, our knowledge, and our talents, in human development. As citizens, we have a democratic responsibility to our nation, especially to those who are unfortunate to be backward and poor. We belong to them and they belong to us'. This kind of an integration of people from the upper strata with the lower strata is slowly taking place. Except that it is unfortunately too slow a process, it is a hopeful aspect of the national development scene in present-day India, in spite of our current dismal political scene. It is this that makes me hopeful about our nation. In spite of all the disruptive and violent politics and political and administrative corruption going on around us, real man-making and nation-building work is also going on silently, here, there, everywhere.

10. 'Urdhva-Mūlam Adhaḥ Śākham'

We have in India, in the current revolutionary transition

period of our long history, the processes of degeneration and regeneration going on side by side. A process of degeneration always takes place initially when a seed is deposited in the soil; side by side, the regeneration also starts, becoming visible in the first sprout breaking open the soil and raising its head above it. Then it grows new leaves and twigs and branches and finally becomes a big healthy tree. We are passing through the same process of national development today. Things are *visibly* quite bad all around us. But out of that degeneration, an *invisible* sprouting of the powerful seed of a nation-building ideology and outlook is registering the fact of the silent regeneration at work. The new sprout of hope is coming up; the future is going to be bright thereby. A mighty national *aśvattha* tree, rooted upward in Divine and branching out downward as the dynamic sprawling India—*ūrdhva-mūlam-adhaḥ śākham* of the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* and the *Gītā*, as Swami Vivekananda pointed out, is steadily taking form and shape, destined to bring blessings not only to the people of India but also to people all over the world.

This *Grāmaśrī* project is one out of many now being implemented by many dedicated groups in various parts of India. A few days ago, I visited our Ramakrishna Mission Ashrama at Narendrapur about 10 miles from Calcutta. That Ashrama, with its multifarious activities like schools, colleges, education of the blind, etc., is also conducting rural development work in about 70 villages. I was much impressed with the work being carried on in one of the villages. The whole concept is to help the people to help themselves.

That was the objective of the Community Development Programme also, initiated by the Government of India over two and half decades ago. Being then at Delhi, I was associated with it even during its planning and conception stage. Every year, I used to be invited to Nilokheri and other training centres to address the Community Project trainees. But the whole programme, which began well and with hope, slowly withered and ultimately failed. It failed because it increasingly became part of the bureaucracy of the revenue departments of the Union and State Governments. It developed no humanistic passion or patriotic dedication.

11. Vivekananda's Motto of 'Be and Make'

But in voluntary organisations like the *Grāmaśrī*, where people come together voluntarily with the needed sense of national vision and dedication and patriotic resolve, they are able to achieve tangible results. So far as the work of human development in India is concerned, it amounts to giving our people a sense of individuality, a feeling of confidence, strength and hope, and imparting to them a new philosophy of human development. Swami Vivekananda gave us a beautiful content for that philosophy; Man-making religion; man-making education. He gave it the motto: *Be and Make*. Be men yourselves and help others to be men. It amounts to teaching our people how to stand on their own feet and be free, and help their fellow-citizens to achieve the same.

Through a letter written from Chicago in 1893, just before he became famous at the Chicago World Parliament of Religions, to one of his intimate disciples in Madras, Swami Vivekananda poured out his heart on behalf of the down-trodden millions of his motherland (*Letters of Swami Vivekananda*, pp. 67-68):

And, oh, how my heart ached to think of what we think of the poor, the low, in India. They have no chance, no escape, no way to climb up. The poor, the low, the sinner in India have no friends, no help—they cannot rise, try however they may. They sink lower and lower every day, they feel the blows showering upon them by a cruel society, and they do not know whence the blow comes. They have forgotten that they too are men. And the result is slavery . . .

A hundred thousand men and women, fired with the zeal of holiness, fortified with eternal faith in the Lord, and nerved to lion's courage by their sympathy for the poor and the fallen and the down-trodden, will go over the length and breadth of the land, preaching the gospel of salvation, the gospel of help, the gospel of social raising-up—the gospel of equality.

That is the philosophy behind this *Grāmaśrī* project. It is a very complex project. All aspects of life are taken in, including

the higher and universal ideas of religion relating to the spiritual development of man, and the increase in universal religious harmony, love, compassion, and service. Our people in general, and our villagers in particular, are known for their mutual quarrels, proneness to litigation, and incapacity for team work. No people in the world are as litigious as we in India. All this merely shows a general lack of character, public spirit, and response to the human situation.

12. *Every Jīva is Śiva*

We Hindus are very good in relating ourselves to God, but that too only to a deity installed in a temple, as I have said before, but very bad in relating ourselves to human beings. Today, that is the very lesson we have to learn—how to relate ourselves meaningfully to men, women and children around us, and discover, through it, a new cooperative relationship to God, to God who is the one Self in all, as understood in our Vedānta. When you relate yourself to either, you relate yourself to both. That is great teaching of Vedānta which Swami Vivekananda gave as the quintessence of our national philosophy and spirituality. Says Sri Ramakrishna:

Every *Jīva* or soul is *Śiva*; hence service of the *Jīva* is the worship of *Śiva*.

That is, indeed, a beautiful equation. This was the philosophy given by Vivekananda to his disciples, some of whom founded what later developed into the Ramakrishna Mission *Sevāśrama* or charitable hospital in Varanasi in 1900. He said to them: 'People come to Vārāṇsi to worship Śiva in the holy Viśvanāth temple here. But I show you a new expression of God to worship, namely, the Śiva present in all the pilgrims and all the poor people sitting around the temple. Nobody cares for them when they fall sick or are hungry. At the most, people toss a few coins at them; and they think that their religious and social responsibility ends there. None has dared to ask the question: why are these poor beggars here? How can we avoid the emergence of such problems in our society? How shall we care for them, now that they are here? *It is a*

philosophy and religion and action technique that will thus go to the root of social problems and solve them that we need today. Out of that thought came the inspiration for those youths to start the Ramakrishna Mission *Sevāśrama* in Vārāṇasī to worship and serve God in the poor and the afflicted. Thus also arose similar medical service *sevaśramas* in Haridwar and Vrindaban.

Vivekananda coined the powerful phrase: *daridra-nārāyaṇa*, *Nārāyaṇa* or God in the poor, which, later, Mahatma Gandhi took up and made the basis of all his services to humanity. It is this philosophy that must inspire the whole of India today.

13. The Message of Samudra-Manthan Myth

In the *Śrīmad Bhāgavatam*, in its *Samudra-manthan* episode, there is a beautiful verse which concludes the story of Śiva drinking the *kālakūṭa* poison to save the world, and which conveys the very gist of that inspiring episode:

*Tapyante loka-tāpena
prāyaśaḥ sādhave janāḥ;
Paramārādhnam tat hi
puruṣasya akhilātmanaḥ—*

Generally speaking, good people experience the fire of compassion when they see the world burning in distress; and that, indeed, is the supreme worship of that divine person who is the one Self in all.

Why did Śiva drink poison? Because his heart was full of compassion for the world. 'The world is in deep distress due to that burning poison; what is the use of my living all for myself? I would rather die so that the world may live.' That was the attitude of Śiva when he decided to drink that poison.

So the first line of the verse says: Good people have one quality; their hearts pulse with the pulse of the suffering of other people. If others are in distress, their hearts also will pulse along with a sense of sorrow, with a sense of compassion. That is the nature of all *sādhavaḥ*—good people.

Then comes the second line which says: *Tat hi*, then alone,

is the supreme worship—*param ārāḍhanam*, and, says the last line, of the divine *puruṣa* or person—*Puruṣasya*. What kind of person is he? The one Self of all—*akhilātmanah*. You have a self, I have a self, each one of us has a self; but He is the one Self in all: 'All are strung in Me as the thread that runs through all the pearls (of a garland)—*Mayi sarvaṁ idaṁ protaṁ sūtre maṇigaṇā iva*, as expressed by Śrī Kṛṣṇa in the *Gītā*. That one Infinite Self can be worshipped only through compassion, love, and service of all beings. That is the lofty creative way of worship of the divine, says the *Śrīmad Bhāgavatam*, in this and several other similar verses.

Today, if this philosophy is even slightly implemented in all parts of India, we will soon see the quickening of the pace of human development and the efflorescence of the Indian spirit.

14. *Vision of India as in the Throes of a Great Revolution*

We have plenty of energy, plenty of talent, plenty of intelligence in India, but something else that can trigger all these into creative explosion is lacking. And that something else is a *correct philosophy of life*. If that is introduced, all these talents will flow into channels of human service and human development.

Now, various service activities are going on in all parts of India, inspired, knowingly or unknowingly, by this philosophy. By the wide implementation of this philosophy, we can really change the whole picture of India from a dismal to a bright one. When you find in other developed and affluent nations problems affecting human life due to excess of technology, here in India we are seeking to spiritually digest and adapt that technology for the material deliverance of our people; we are applying, in the words of Swami Vivekananda, in the book: *Lectures from Colombo to Almora*, 'a toned down materialism' suited to the requirements of our people. We are passing through a new revolutionary period of our long history. Here, in this highly creative age, creation and destruction are going on side by side. Obsolete ideas and structures are breaking down fast; if we but listen carefully, we can catch these crashing sounds. And we can also witness the coming up of fresh healthy ideas and new structures. *That is real revolution.*

Swami Vivekananda proclaimed, long before the country thought of revolutions, this modern period of our history *as an age of revolution*. Said he in his Madras lecture of *My Plan of Campaign* (*Complete Works*, Vol. III, pp. 216):

You must go down to the basis of the thing, to the very root of the matter. That is what I call radical reform. Put the fire there and let it burn upwards and make an Indian Nation.

In one of his letters, he wrote that he had no time even to die; there was so much of work to do. *When we all become possessed of this human passion, we shall be able to appreciate that utterance of the Swami and start to live truly, and find no time to experience the death of frustration*, because there exists such a wonderful avenue of rewarding work for the good of the people, to which the words of Jesus, uttered in a different context and age, apply remarkably:

For the harvest truly is plenteous;
but the labourers are few!

15. *Need of the Hour: A Robust and Heroic Philosophy*

For any one to be frustrated in such an India today is really a misfortune, arising largely from his or her false philosophy and outlook of self-centredness and human unconcern. Nobody need be frustrated, if he or she has some patriotic impulse and a socially oriented will; then will he or she echo, in the modern Indian context, poet Wordsworth's response to the early creative phase of the French Revolution:

Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive;
But to be young was very Heaven!

The people who are inspired by such a robust philosophy may not know how to go about expressing it in terms of human service; they will get a healthy avenue of self-expression whenever new nation-building projects are initiated by creative groups. Such projects will then suck in more and more of such

in the right sense of the term. It will slowly infect the whole nation with this type of anti-toxin, by which the old harmful toxin which made the nation stagnant and sick will be destroyed. Selfishness, complacency, and human unconcern have been the toxins in our body-politic for a long time. These have to go so, that man-making and nation-building dynamic activity may set in, bringing life and cheer and hope to millions of our people.

That is true politics; that is also true religion. This is what Swami Vivekananda taught our nation. This idea and programme of total human development, through which the millions in our villages will capture the dignity and status of human beings, is the index of real national progress. I am happy to note that, during the last few years, there has been this new orientation of national policies towards development of our rural areas. I hope it will stay on, and be pursued vigorously, in spite of possible changes of governments. Our government policies were only urban-minded and urban-conditioned these decades. That is how our towns and cities became developed, and enticed the impoverished in the villages to migrate to the towns, creating slums and other associated problems for the towns and for the nation. That goes on in an un-ending cycle. The only way we can stop creation of sprawling slums in our urban areas is by making our villages healthy, happy, and economically strong. *This change in our attitude and this orientation in our policies is the most significant thing that has taken place since our independence.* Inspired by this philosophy, diversion of a part of the talents and money that we have in our urban areas in the fields of industry, business, and the professions, is enough to bring the good life to millions of people in the rural areas and the other millions in the urban slum areas. This neglect of rural India, and the need for our nation in the modern age to turn its energies to the development of our rural people, were highlighted by Swami Vivekananda in one of his letters from Chicago to his Madras disciples written in 1894 (*Letters of Swami Vivekananda*, pp. 83-84):

Remember that the nation lives in the cottage. But alas! nobody ever did anything for them. Our modern reformers are very busy about widow remarriages. Of course, I am a sympathiser in every reform, but the fate of a nation does

not depend upon the number of husbands their widows get, but upon the *condition of the masses*. Can you raise them? Can you give them back their lost individuality without making them lose their innate spiritual nature? Can you become an occidental of occidentals in your spirit of equality, freedom, work, and energy, and at the same time, a Hindu to the very backbone in religious culture and instincts? This is to be done and *we will do it*. You are all *born to do it*. Have faith in yourselves; great convictions are the mothers of great deeds. Onward for ever! Sympathy for the poor, the downtrodden, even unto death—this is our motto. Onward, brave lads!

I am very much hopeful that this *Grāmaśrī* project which is to be initiated shortly, which has received cooperation and appreciation from many people, and which has already the promise of the valued association of Kantibhai and others of the Excel Industries and Sri M. Varadarajan and others of the IDL Chemicals, will grow from strength to strength and cover other rural areas also in course of time. I have no doubt that, within the next four or five years, the project will show very good results.

16. *Renunciation and Service*

I know that Kantibhai and his group are doing excellent rural development work in Kutch also. In September 1977, I was at Gandhidham in Kutch on an invitation to dedicate its 'Prabhu Darshan' auditorium and address several public meetings. I had been to Kutch even before partition along with the late Bhai Pratap Dialdas of Sind to select a site for the projected Gandhidham refugee township. That was just before Gandhiji's passing away. I have repeated my visit once or twice thereafter as well. After my Gandhidham programmes and on my way to the Bhuj airport, I was invited by a group of young devotees of Sri Ramakrishna to address a public meeting in a large hall in Bhuj. In spite of the inconvenient morning hour of 9.30 to 11 a.m., the whole hall was crowded with men, women and children. I spoke in Hindi because, I learnt, many could not understand English. It was after that meeting that I learnt that this youth group, inspired by Vivekananda's

message of *tyāga* and *sevā*, renunciation and service, was conducting one or other welfare activities in the name of its Ramakrishna Yuvak Mandal. I was inspired by seeing their enthusiasm and dedication.

Such groups of people are there all over India and are engaged in various small or big service activities. They need only a little financial and technical help from those who have the means. This current tendency to respond to the national ideals of *tyāga* and *sevā* and to divert some energy towards rural development, towards the development of the common people, by people in industry, business, and the professions, is the most promising feature of India's present socio-political atmosphere. Through the furthering of this healthy process, India's democracy will cease to be the anaemic political experience that it is today, but will become rooted in the strength of the common people, the *demos*; it will thus grow, through development of its economic, social, and spiritual dimensions, into a full-fledged democracy, ensuring freedom and equality, along with the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation, to a seventh of the human race.

I am happy to be in your company today. Many of you are doing exceptionally good work in this field. Let me say: May God be with you and may He strengthen you more and more. You are, in the Vedāntic language of Swami Vivekananda combining healthy politics with true religion. Our Gandhian politics of service and of people's political education gave way after independence to mere politics of power; and that politics of power is cancelling itself out today, weakened by the lack of pure patriotism, of scruples, and of high political principles. About such politics and politicians, two lines of an English verse which I read in a Karachi Daily, in the pre-partition days, about the then current Sind politics, applies aptly;

A merciful providence made us all hollow,
That we our principles might swallow!

17. *Vivekananda on Patriotism*

Such politics have worked havoc with our infant democratic state faced with its mounting human problems of colossal

poverty and backwardness. Politics is certainly the pursuit of power; but not certainly of power for its own sake, but for service, and for the democratic education of the people. *The nation is in dire need of this politics of service inspired by patriotic dedication.* It will be inspiring for those of our youths, who aspire to choose politics or administration as their life mission, to read and ponder over the following stirring words of Vivekananda on patriotism. Towards the end of his speech in Madras on *My Plan of Campaign* in 1897, the Swami poured out his heart thus (*Complete Works*, Vol. III, pp. 225-227):

One word more and I have finished. They talk of patriotism. I believe in patriotism, and I also have my own ideal of patriotism. Three things are necessary for great achievements. First, feel from the heart. What is in the intellect or reason? It goes a few steps and there it stops. But through the heart comes inspiration. Love opens the most impossible gates; love is the gateway to all the secrets of the universe. Feel, therefore, my would-be reformers, my would-be patriots. Do you feel? Do you feel that millions and millions of the descendants of gods and of sages have become next-door neighbours to brutes? Do you feel that millions are starving today, and millions have been starving for ages? Do you feel that ignorance has come over the land as a dark cloud? Does it make you restless? Does it make you sleepless? Has it gone into your blood, coursing through your veins, becoming consonant with your heart beats? Has it made you almost mad?

Are you seized with that one idea of the misery of ruin, and have you forgotten all about your name, your fame, your wives, your children, your property, even your own bodies? Have you done that?

That is the first step to become a patriot, the very first step. I did not go to America, as most of you know, for the Parliament of Religion; but this demon of a feeling was in me and within my soul. I travelled twelve years all over India, finding no way to work for my countrymen, and that is why I went to America. Most of you know that, who knew me then. Who cared about this Parliament of

Religions? Here was my own flesh and blood sinking every day, and who cared for them? This was my first step.

You may feel, then; but, instead of spending your energies in frothy talk, have you found any way out, any practical solution, some help instead of condemnation, some sweet words to soothe their miseries, and bring them out of this living death?

Yet that is not all. Have you got the will to surmount mountain-high obstruction? If the whole world stands against you sword in hand, would you still dare to do what you think is right? If your wives and children are against you, if all your money goes, your name dies, your wealth vanishes, would you still stick to it? Would you still pursue it and go on steadily towards your goal? As the great king Bhartṛhari says (*Nīti-sataka*, verse 74):

*Nindantu nīti-nipuṇāḥ yadi vā stuvantu
lakṣmī samāviśatu gacchatu vā yatheshṭam;
Adyaiva vā maraṇamastu yugāntare vā
nyāyyāt pathāt pravichalanti padam na dhīraḥ—*

Let the sages blame or let them praise; let the goddess of fortune come or let her go wherever she likes; let death come today, or let it come in hundreds of years; he indeed is the steady man (*dhīra*) who does not move one inch from the path of truth.

Have you got that steadfastness? If you have these three things, each one of you will work miracles. You need not write in the newspapers; you need not go about lecturing; your very face will shine. If you live in a cave, your thoughts will permeate even through the rock walls, will go vibrating all over the world for hundreds of years, may be, until they will fasten on to some brain and work out there. Such is the power of thought, of sincerity, and of purity of purpose.

18. Education : Higher or Merely Costlier?

So far as our educational system is concerned, I can tell

you one thing. If our education in our universities had been really nationally-oriented, by this time there would have been no illiteracy in this country. If all the college and university unions and our teachers had developed a little patriotic impulse, they and their products in our administration and politics could have destroyed illiteracy during the past 30 years of our independence. But it has not happened, because our education does not give us that sense of dedication for the good of our own nation. It makes us selfish. It makes us demand things for our own comfort and convenience only.

Today, therefore, if there can be brought about a welcome change in the attitude of our students and teachers, they will become dynamic agents of social change and, with the help of the funds provided by the governments, will gladly take up responsibility for educating others whenever they get any little opportunity such as the vacation time. The nation can solve this problem in no time; for we have millions of students and teachers. That is how our education can become nationally-oriented. Today, it is not, and it has to be so oriented; that is the biggest thing we have to do today. The students should feel that it is their country; they are not only *in* it, but are *of* it and *for* it. But most of them do not feel so today; their only attitude is that they are *in* India and that India must help them to fulfil their desires and ambitions. Most of the students take to education, as observed by the late Sir Julian Huxley in his correspondence with me on my book, *The Message of the Upanisads*, only to pass examinations with a view to securing jobs; or now, to go to America or Canada or the Arab countries for more paying jobs; very few, even after obtaining jobs within the nation, care for the nation or for the people.

Our education must inspire our youth to develop their physical and mental energies fully and channel them into service of the people in different fields. It is only in this more-than-individual-dimension-of-energy-expression that the individual will find his or her own life fulfilled. This higher motivation has to be injected into the educational process itself. That is the way to make our current higher education truly higher; but today it is mostly *costly and costlier* education and *not higher* education.

19. *Anatomy of our Student Agitations*

The absence of this national motivation finds reflected even in our student agitations. Student agitations are there in all countries; they are there in USA as much as in India. But there is a tremendous difference between the two. In the USA, the students have agitated on behalf of some humanistic cause, such as the senseless Vietnam War or on behalf of civil rights for Negroes. The American students fought against the mighty American government and courted much suffering in the process. Eventually they succeeded in making their country withdraw from Vietnam. The American white students suffered for gaining civil rights for their black fellow citizens.

On the other hand, most of our student agitations in India, involving much destruction of national property and disruption of civil life, are only for getting more advantages for themselves, such as iced drinking water, free cinema tickets, freedom to copy at examinations, bus stops at hostel gates, and ticketless travel! Not a single agitation has had the touch of the humanistic impulse; none of them has been on behalf of any pressing national problems, such as removal of illiteracy, oppression of Harijans, and social injustices arising from nepotism, bribery, or corruption. *Viewed against the dismal background of national poverty and suffering, these agitations and their destructive ferocity reveal only the utter lack of national and human concern and the spirit of youthful idealism.*

20. *Man First, Money Next*

Our industrial and business communities also will play a big role in rural development, when they inspire themselves with that idealism and human concern, as expressed in Vivekananda's ideas on patriotism quoted earlier. The first thing for them to realise is that, in the field of human development, money comes second only in importance, and not the first. Money is static and dead unless invested in man. For that investment in man, the first requirement is the availability of dedicated youths, whether in government services or in social groups, with the patriotic motivation to serve. Such groups must be created first. Money becomes useful only after that;

not in the beginning. First the right type of men; then money. Quite often, the government's projects begin with money and end with money, more thought is to be given to getting the right type of people who can really translate money into effective human development; if that is neglected, returns will fall far short of investment. Educated, efficient, nationally dedicated men and women are the greatest assets of the state as much as of a voluntary agency. In his lecture on *The Future of India*, delivered in Madras, 1897, Swami Vivekananda gave stirring expression to this sentiment of man first, money next (*Complete Works*, Vol. III, p. 303):

That is my plan. It may appear gigantic, but it is much needed. You may ask, where is the money? Money is not needed. Money is nothing. For the last twelve years of my life, I did not know where the next meal would come from; but money and everything else I want must come; because they are my slaves, and not I theirs. Money and everything else must come. *Must*—that is the word. Where are the men? That is the question.

When you have a cadre of dedicated young men and women in any voluntary field of work, you have the best capital for that project. The second capital, namely, money, will come in its wake. People will then be impelled to come forward and say: 'Here is money. Do not worry about it at all.' The money thus given is well spent, because it is given for a noble cause, the cause of human development. That is the true worth of money, true investment of wealth. Our patriotic industrialists must, therefore, keep a close watch over places where there are dedicated groups of people and say to them: 'We will help you with money', and encourage them to go ahead. They can also keep a watch over the way the project management spends the money. In this way, they can be behind the young dedicated groups of people, encouraging them with that touch of practical efficiency which is theirs. That is how the nation will integrate the three ingredients of development, namely, patriotic impulse, practical efficiency and money, in the service of human development in our democracy.

During my brief visit to Kerala just two years ago, I was

amazed to find that, in the large village of Trikkur near Trichur, about 300 young women, all free from communal and caste prejudices, had banded themselves into a Trikkur Mahila Samajam, some semi-educated and some well-educated. They had a small house in which they were conducting their activities in the service of the women and children of the village. I was deeply impressed with their modern outlook and service activities. I asked them: 'What do you need to develop your work?' They said: 'We need only Rs. 1,000; if we can procure this, the state government will give us its share of Rs. 4,000. With this Rs. 5,000 we plan to build a house in our new site and conduct our work better.' I was moved, and I told them that I would collect that Rs. 1,000 for them straightaway, and asked a friend to advance that amount to them, on my behalf. That was done. Then the government gave the promised Rs. 4,000. Soon they moved into the new house and expanded their activities. By next year, like Manu's fish in our *Purāṇik* mythology, that house also became too small for their activities.

When I visited next and heard from them about lack of space, I said: 'Now you must have a bigger place. Why not go in for the larger house in a one-acre plot not far away? I shall collect the Rs. 30,000 needed for that.' They did it soon after. As they moved into that larger building, the Khadi and Village Industries Commission came in to help the Mahila Samajam by erecting a large shed at the cost of over Rs. 35,000 and by installing 50 charkhas and 10 looms; each charkha helps one girl to earn between Rs. 5 to Rs. 8 per day and each loom about Rs. 10 a day, they said.

With such timely help, the enthusiasm and dedication of the Mahila Samajam members is able to brighten the lives of so many women in one rural area. All we need is to have a heart and a searching eye, to be able to spot out where groups of dedicated young people are working, so that they can be helped and encouraged to do bigger and better things. Moneyed people in India should realise more and more that wise spending is what makes money into *Śrī*; they should see therefore, that no good work should languish for want of money; they should develop a spontaneous and constant mood and attitude of 'what I can do for you, how can I help you?' towards all good work.

There is now pretty clear idea of the scope of work to be

carried on by *Grāmaśrī*. The project may be most appropriately called: *Grāmaśrī: Integrated Rural Development and Research Project*. I understand that donations made to these kinds of rural development projects are exempt 100 per cent from income tax. We hope that that will be an additional motivation for people with means to support this cause. When this kind of work is done properly and in a big way by our various agencies, a secondary result will be that people from other parts of the world, especially from the developing countries, some of them in the spirit of pilgrims, will come to see what India is doing in the field of human development. Until now, we were going to America and other countries to learn sociology and the philosophy and technique of human development. That will now change, and India will begin to attract world attention as a mighty throbbing anthropological laboratory of human development as envisaged by Vivekananda, for a seventh of the human race.

21. *Bharṭhari on Human Types in a Society*

For my address to the Rotary Club of Bombay, on 6th February at the Taj Mahal Hotel, I had chosen a very stimulating and relevant subject namely, *Humanism and Human Types in a Society*. Like this meeting, that was also a meeting of top industrialists and professionals, about two hundred of them. The verse from Bharṭhari, the great poet and king and mystic of Madhya Pradesh of about 1300 years ago, that I quoted and expounded then, I wish to present before you also on this occasion; it will help you to better understand the mind and face of India today (*Niśataka*, verse 64):

*Eke sat-puruṣāḥ parārtha-ghaṭakāḥ
svārthān parityajya ye,
Sāmānyāstu parārthamudhyamabhṛtāḥ
svārthā-virodhena ye;
Te'mī mānava-rākṣāsāḥ parahitam
svārthāya nighnanti ye,
Ye tu ghnanti nirarthakam parahitam
te ke na jānīmahe—*

There are some *Sat-puruṣās*, good people, who engage

themselves in work for the good of others, *sacrificing their own self-interest*; the *sāmānyās*, the generality of people, on the other hand, are those who engage themselves in the good of others, *without sacrificing their own self-interest*; there are those, the *mānavā-rākṣasās*, demons in the form of man, who sacrifice the good of others to gain their own selfish ends; but alas, what am I to say of those others, who destroy the good of others without gaining thereby any good even to themselves or to any one else!

According to this poet, there are four types of human beings in any society, whether it be Indian, American, Chinese, Russian, or any other. The difference is not between society and society; all the types exist in all of them; but the proportion of these types varies from society to society, making it healthy or unhealthy. What are these four types?

The first is the *sat-puruṣa* type, the good people. Why are they called good? Because they are always working for the good of others, *parārtha-ghaṭakāḥ*. But that alone is not enough for them to be called *sat-puruṣās*; something more is needed; what is that? They *give up their own self-interest* to advance the interest of others, *svārthān parityajya*. Only such constitute the *sat-puruṣa* class in any society. In the language of Jesus, they are the *salt of the earth*. Though a small minority, they are always present in every society; people of the type of Mahatma Gandhi, for example. He could have made piles of money in Africa and enjoyed life with plenty of organic satisfactions; but he saw the low human situation there, and later in India, and completely gave himself and his whole life for the good of all. He was truly a *sat-puruṣa*. Then comes the second type. They are called *sāmānyās*, the generality, the majority. They are also interested in and work for the good of others; but there is one difference between them and the first type. The first type sacrifices its own interest and works for the good of others. The second type also works for the good of others, but without violating its own self-interest, *svārtha avirodhena*. Whatever surplus time, money, energy, and talents they have, after attending to their own self-interest, they utilise for the good of others. They are, therefore, called the *sāmānyās*, the generality.

This second type is an eminent category of people. Every society needs to ensure that the majority of its population belongs to this category. In British political, economic, and ethical thought, there is a name given to this second category. I like that name; and I wish that the philosophy conveyed by it inspires all of us in India today. It is called *enlightened self-interest*.

Its philosophy, no doubt, is centred in self-interest; but it is not crude but of an enlightened variety. You produce goods in industry; but somebody must buy what you produce. The buyers must have purchasing power. It is, therefore, in your own self-interest to see that there is purchasing power in the hands of the people. It is only then that your industry will thrive.

People of this second category accordingly think: 'I cannot forsake my own self-interest. I am not an ascetic. I have my desires and cravings and I shall work and earn to satisfy them; but even for this, I have to take the interest of others around me also into account; without the wider social context, I am nothing; accordingly, every bit of my surplus time, energy, and money I shall spend for ensuring the good of other people. This is truly *enlightened self-interest*.

That is the philosophy that the vast majority of our people must follow in India today. Rural areas are getting impoverish-ed; the towns have more money and better work opportunity; so the rural people flock to the towns. In that process, slums are created; large numbers of people concentrated in these slums face privations; crime increases; and the peaceful enjoyment of life by its citizens becomes jeopardised. Already, dacoities and murders in the houses of the rich people in the towns, and even in the rural areas, are on the increase. In some highly developed countries, more and more rich people in urban areas are being kidnapped. Why? Because, the concern for others less fortunate than oneself is at a discount in highly urbanised social settings. That concern is absolutely essential if the world is not to be torn apart with bitter conflicts between the haves and the have-nots. It is only this attitude and way of *enlightened self-interest* that can bridge the tragically widening gulf between the two, within a nation and between nations. The majority of people in all healthy societies must belong to this second category and live by this philosophy. And they will be inspired and

sustained by the presence and example of that minority at the top, namely, the people of the *sat-puruṣa* type.

The poet then speaks of the third category. *We in India must take note of that category in particular*; because, since independence, we have been turning out that category more and more to a very unhealthy extent. The poet calls them *mānava-rākṣasās*, human in appearance but *rākṣasās*—demons, in mind and heart; they are bereft of social sense and the human touch; they thrive by constant exploitation of others. They are, accordingly, called *mānava-rākṣasās*. What a fitting term it is. How do they express their *rākṣasa* or demoniac nature? They destroy the welfare of others for achieving their own inflated self-interest. That is what several of our people are doing in India today. Since independence, large numbers of people practise all sorts of social malpractices like smuggling, bribery and corruption, adulteration of foods and drugs, and the like. They all belong to this third category.

Not a tiny bit of compassion exists in the hearts of these *mānava-rākṣasās*. It is the lack of compassion that makes for a *rākṣasa*. Man has intelligence and compassion; *rākṣasa* has intelligence but no compassion. If there is compassion, people will still, no doubt, make money and work for self-interest; but they will not deliberately destroy other people's welfare in the process. That is the fruit of the ethical attitude and the humanistic impulse. The *mānava-rākṣasās* are devoid of both.

The fourth category is still worse; and the poet is in despair as to how to present them—*te ke na jānīmahe!* This type of people also indulge in destroying other people's interest and welfare, like the third type, but 'without gaining any advantage even to themselves'—*nirarthakam*. This is what in English is called the vandalistic type. We have too many of this type in India today—people burning and destroying the nation's hard earned wealth like buses, railway track and trains, industrial plants, etc.

In our country, since independence, the changes in the proportion of the four types give us an insight into the current pathological condition of the nation. Its toxic condition is serious due to the increase in the third and fourth types to an alarming extent. The first type, the healthy group of *sat-puruṣās*, is still there. But the second is getting depleted. Why?

Because enlightened self-interest is a very difficult proposition to live by, if there is no *philosophic conviction* of the power of goodness to back it. It is not easy to keep to that healthy constituent of *enlightenment*, while pursuing the other constituent of *self-interest*. It needs the strength arising from alertness, discrimination, thinking. These became casualties after independence; and slowly, among increasing numbers of our people, enlightenment withered away leaving only gross self-interest. This resulted in thousands of that second otherwise healthy category *sliding down* to fill the third category, and further down to fill even the fourth category. We can see this sliding down process constantly taking place, year after year, since independence. And all this, in the context of increasing educational and economic opportunities! If this is education, how dismal it is! Education has made many of our people transform their intelligence into mere cleverness, eroding the humanistic impulse in the process. Our post-independence experience proves the truth of the English dictum: *Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty*.

22. Conclusion

Our programme in India should, therefore, be to take all steps, educational, cultural, and spiritual, to preserve the ever-present small minority of the *sat-puruṣas* type, to strengthen, to steady, to increase, the second category of *sāmānyās*, to make their 'enlightenment' component a matter of not mere static *opinion or family or caste tradition*, but a *dynamic personal philosophical conviction* that it is right and true, so that they would not slide down imperceptibly to swell the ranks of the third and fourth types. The nation should take care to see that the third and fourth types do not rise in number to unhealthy levels. To be sure, no society can entirely eliminate them; but, through appropriate educational and legal measures, their number can be reduced. *Every one must ask the question and find the answer early or late in life: to which of the four categories do I belong, should I belong?* The second category must be strengthened in depth and range forthwith; its philosophy of enlightened self-interest must inspire all walks of life—business, industry, administration, politics, and the professions.

In this way, we can slowly build up an India—economically, culturally, and ethically healthy. By assimilating, and acting in the light of, the tested wisdom of our hoary national tradition represented by the galaxy of our sages like Bhartṛhari, we can set about urgently to change the proportion of the four types within our society, so as to transform the dubiously described *largest* democracy in the world, which is our India now, into the covetable status of the *greatest* democracy.